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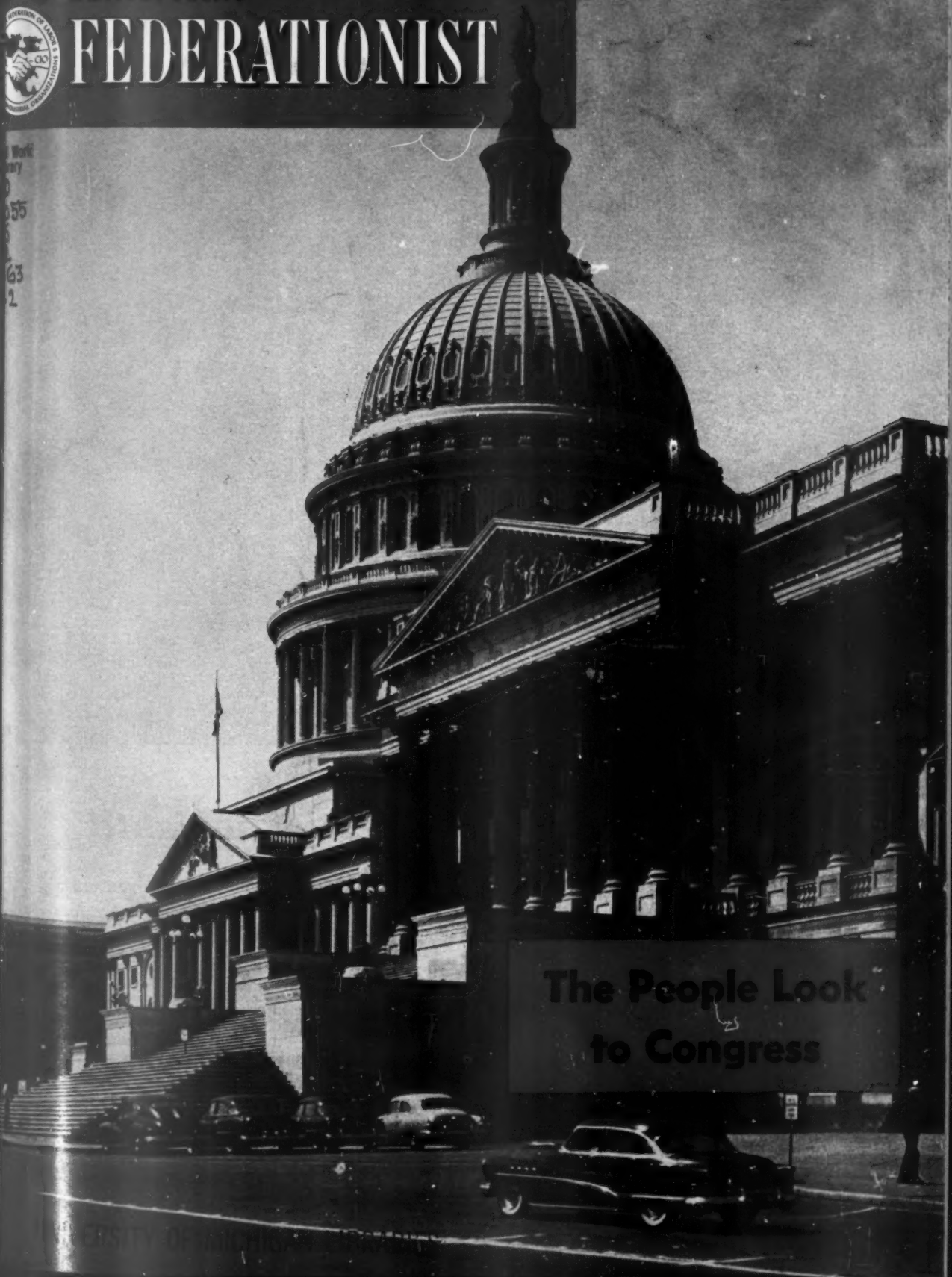
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The People Look
to Congress





“Will YOU be at the meeting tonight?”

Free trade unions are an essential part of the democratic way of life. In a democracy each individual has a responsibility to be alert and to do his part. In a democracy it is the duty of each member of an organization to take a genuine interest in the affairs of that organization. Leaving your tasks for others to do is not the democratic way.

Are you fulfilling your obligations as a trade unionist by attending meetings regularly? Or are you neglectful? You can't

be a good trade unionist unless you are a good citizen first—and a good citizen does not fail to attend and take an active part in the meetings of his union.

Do your share to make democracy live. Take a genuine interest in the affairs of your union. Study the organization's problems. Bring new members into the fold. And attend union meetings regularly. This is the democratic way—and it is also the sensible and practical way to build your trade union.

DON'T LET BAD WEATHER KEEP YOU AWAY

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FEDERATIONIST

Official Monthly Magazine of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

FEBRUARY, 1956

GEORGE MEANY, Editor

Vol. 63, No. 2

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THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR AND CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS

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Principle

Through the discussion of these days there has repeatedly shone an allegiance to a large number of political and moral principles. Basic to the whole discussion has been the tenet that government exists for the sake of the individual and that there is a limit to what government can do to him.

It seems to have been pretty generally agreed that human affairs must be guided by a sense of decency and fair play, that personality is more to be regarded than property, that men are morally obligated to try to be reasonable and be guided by reason. There have been repeated references to "fundamental notions of fairness and justice" and to "the precepts of reason and good conscience." We have been reminded again and again of the worth of and importance of the individual, and we have been told, correctly, that this was a religious insight before it became a political aim.

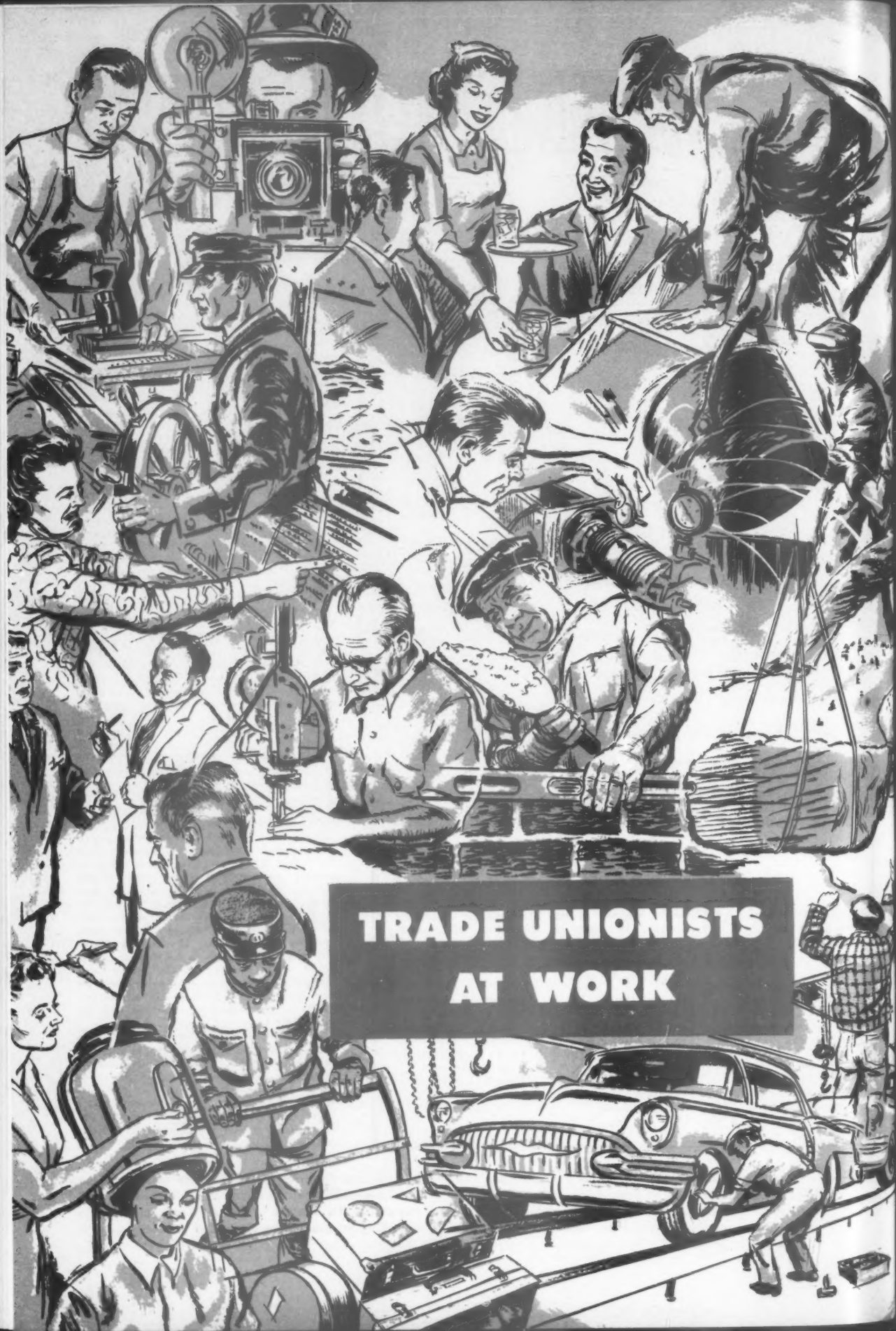
There seems to have been an almost universal recognition that though we have only very imperfect scales to weigh values of this kind in specific situations, the values themselves and, back of them, the age-long concern for justice are not to be gainsaid. It would appear that we are still committed with Socrates to the view that the word "justice" can have meaning, that it stands for something independent of force, that it is desirable for men, and that both law and government exist to foster its realization.

If the debilitating prejudice against admitting considerations of principle is now abating, a reason is not far to seek. There have always been some to maintain that the world of knowledge owes little to events. Yet surely it is the events of our century that have been forcing this particular change in intellectual convention. It is the wars and inventions of this century, the acts of inhumanity it has seen and the cynical misuse of elements in our civilized tradition which have been quickening fresh interest in the nature and authority of principles long voiced only by rote and whose existence was all too recently either denied or casually and indifferently taken for granted.

It is, of course, true that in virtually any issue of moment different people will see the path of principle leading in different directions. This does not destroy the validity of principle or the necessity for new effort. We cannot—we must not—plead indifference or retire from the field simply because the matter is difficult and feelings run high.

Nathan M. Pusey.

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TRADE UNIONISTS AT WORK

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WHAT CONGRESS OUGHT TO DO

by George Meany

MEETING at the outset of a suspense-filled Presidential election year, the second session of the Eighty-fourth Congress has its work cut out for it. This year, certainly, Congress cannot afford the luxury of marking time until the votes are counted. The lawmakers are confronted with a big backlog of urgent unfinished business. Both parties will be judged in November by the record they make on important national issues in the months to come.

Instead of trying to predict what measures Congress may adopt, it is more to the point at this time to consider what Congress ought to do before it adjourns.

First and foremost, in our consideration, must be placed the enactment of a truly effective foreign policy program. There will be a strong disposition, for political reasons, to criticize Administration failures in the cold war. The Administration has let itself in for such criticism. It made a serious mistake in overselling the significance of the "Geneva spirit" to the American people, who were only too eager to believe that some real progress toward peace had been effected. Yet criticism alone will get us nowhere. The real need is for bi-partisan agreement on a sound and firm policy which can be consistently applied in the future in order to preserve peace and safeguard the free world from military attack or subversion.

Labor believes that the responsible leadership of both parties can and should agree on the essentials of a constructive foreign policy program and thus remove this vital area from the realm of partisan bickering. America must be united to be able to overcome the worldwide challenge of aggressive communism, which grows daily more threatening to the security of the free world.

On the domestic front, there is plenty of room for healthy debate on the best solutions for major national problems.

We believe the first order of business of this Congress should be to enact a comprehensive program of federal aid to education over a long-term period. The nation is suffering today from prolonged neglect of our educational system. Its effects are obvious already all the way up from the elementary school level to the universities. To starve our schools is to strangle America's future. Since the states and communities cannot cope with this immense problem on their own, the federal government must assume its fair share of the burden.

The Administration's program, while making a significant concession to the need for federal aid, adds up to another manifestation of the "too little, too late" policy. Labor believes that stinting the schools is the height of false economy. In order to build the necessary new



PRESIDENT MEANY

schools and provide higher pay standards for teachers so as to attract more qualified people to this profession, the federal government should commit itself to an investment of at least a billion dollars a year for the next five years.

Another urgent problem that demands immediate action is the shrinkage in farm income. The AFL-CIO, at its first convention, pledged labor to support a sound legislative program designed to raise the income of the nation's farmers.

We have taken this position because we realize that the prosperity of the entire nation, including city workers, becomes jeopardized when an important segment of the economy, like agriculture, is hard hit. For political reasons, transparent efforts have been made to divide farmers against industrial workers, even to the extent of attempting to blame depressed agricultural income on wage increases won by unions. Of course, that is just not true. Secretary of Labor Mitchell has challenged Secretary of Agriculture Benson on this issue. Mr. Mitchell has pointed out that higher workers' purchasing power helps to increase consumption of farm products and reduce surpluses. To get the full facts, Congress should authorize an impartial investigation of the widening spread between the price the farmer gets for his product and the far higher price the consumer has to pay for that product in its processed form.

Tax reduction will get a great deal of consideration from this Congress, in view of the President's statement that the budget will be balanced by the end of the fiscal year. Labor always has believed and still believes that taxes should not be cut if such action would endanger national security. However, if it is now possible to lower taxes and maintain an adequate defense program at the same time, we feel very strongly that the families at the bottom of the economic ladder should get some relief.

Corporations and stockholders were accorded large tax reductions in the 1954 revision of the law. Now the rest of the people should get their turn. We recommend that rates on the first \$2000 of taxable income be lowered, that Congress grant higher personal exemptions, that most of the excise taxes which are a burden on both business and the consumer be repealed and that existing loopholes in the law, which



During the months ahead, citizens will be keeping their eyes on the Capitol. The people want action, not talk.

permit tax evasion by those who can well afford to pay taxes, be closed shut.

There is a great deal of additional legislation pending which labor considers in the national interest.

We renew our appeal to Congress to enact a civil rights program. Such action is overdue in common fairness to the victims of discrimination and in support of our international position, which is gravely weakened in many parts of the world by the fact that millions of American citizens are denied equal justice under the law merely because of their race, color or religion.

Again we urge Congress to adopt a comprehensive housing program which would encourage the construction of 2,000,000 new homes a year, for the next ten years, including ample provision for public housing to remove slums, low-cost housing for families with annual incomes under \$5000 who are now priced out of the market and also for elderly persons.

It is to be noted that President Eisenhower in his State of the Union message repeated his call for revision of the Taft-Hartley Act. We consider the President's recommendations inadequate. Congress should make a more serious and thorough effort to correct the obvious injustices of Taft-Hartley. It should be emphasized that solution of this problem cannot be postponed much longer without danger to our entire national economy.

Despite the drop in unemployment during

1955, the country's economic outlook is bleak. effective Action exempt which i Labor modern compen nationw their du The further include and to hour. increase

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1955, there remain many distressed areas in the country where joblessness is acute and economic conditions for both labor and industry bleak. We strongly urge Congress to adopt an effective rehabilitation program for such areas. Action also should be taken to remove tax exemption advantages for those communities which issue bonds to engage in plant piracy.

Labor also believes it is time that Congress modernized the structure of the unemployment compensation system by providing a uniform, nationwide minimum standard for benefits and their duration.

The Fair Labor Standards Act also requires further revision, both to broaden coverage to include millions of workers still unprotected and to raise the minimum wage to \$1.25 an hour. Standards for Puerto Rico should be increased promptly.

Social security improvements likewise stand high on the list of "must" legislation. The least Congress should do at this time is to adopt the bill, already approved by the House, to reduce the retirement age for women and make retirement benefits available to disabled workers at the age of 50.

Liberalization of the immigration law should be promptly effected by Congress. It should also remove restrictive provisions from the Refugee Relief Act so that the full quota of refugees originally provided for can be admitted.

These are only a few of the big issues which face the Eighty-fourth Congress in its final session. Our lawmakers can make a far better impression upon the voters by constructive performance on these issues than by more promises of action in the elusive future.

Legislatures Meeting in Nineteen States

TRADE unionists in at least nineteen states will be watching their Legislatures as well as Congress this year. Wage-earners and the union legislative representatives at the state capitals will be looking for chances to strike effective blows against misnamed "right to work" laws where they are already on the books and to block any attempts to pass similar anti-labor legislation in other states.

In addition, unionists will be working for improved unemployment insurance and workmen's compensation, as well as advances in other state laws which are of vital concern to wage-earners and their families.

Seventeen states are slated to hold regular sessions this year to consider state budgets and act on other matters. These include Alabama, California, Colorado, Georgia, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Mississippi, New Jersey, New York, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Virginia and West Virginia. The majority of these Legislatures convened last month.

Alabama and Ohio have scheduled special sessions, and there is talk of other special sessions in Iowa, Nevada and Tennessee.

In addition to watching the Legis-

latures, union representatives will be active in at least two states where questions involving "right to work" laws may come before the voters. In Washington a campaign is under way to place an initiative measure on the November ballot calling for a "wreck" law. Anti-labor employer organizations are pushing the issue. Unions in that state are already in the field fighting it.

In Nevada unions have been successful in setting the stage for voters

to torpedo the law in effect there. Nevada voters are expected to vote on two initiated measures aimed at ending "right to work" agitation once and for all.

One of the proposals would repeal the law, while the other would amend the state constitution specifically to permit the union shop.

Nevada's law was passed by a narrow margin in the 1952 election. A repeal attempt in 1954 failed by slightly more than 2,000 votes.



Labor wants Legislatures to reject hostile bills and pass beneficial ones.

The Employers Benefit Too When Unions Make Gains

By WILLIAM F. SCHNITZLER
AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer

THE LABOR of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce. Trade unions do not exist to buy cheap and sell dear the persons and energies of their members. A trade union *speaks* for its members; it does not own them. Trade unions *are* workingmen, and workingmen are brothers. It is altogether unnatural that they should be divided.

Some spokesmen for industry have responded to labor unity with cries of "monopoly" and demands for still another round of repressive legislation. To the extent that these expressions may be sincere, they are founded upon a fallacy.

In the business world, the term "merger" implies to some an extension of control on the part of an element in management seeking to secure or maintain a position of competitive advantage in the marketplace. To them, its logical ultimate development is total monopoly. Short of that goal, its object is size—sometimes for its own sake and sometimes for the sake of economic power. It must be remembered that the attitudes, concepts and motives that govern the business world cannot be so easily transposed and applied as a gauge to the course of trade union affairs.

Merger has united 15,000,000 workers into a single labor federation. This is an impressive total, measured against the past, but there is no magic in numbers alone that brings automatic guarantees of relative gain to labor or loss to management, or any threat of "labor monopoly" into the collective bargaining picture.

To the employer who negotiates with a local union representing the employes in his plant, it matters little whether the trade union movement at large numbers five million, ten million, fifteen million or thirty million, in terms of his own immediate eco-



SECRETARY SCHNITZLER

nomic interests. He will continue to see the same faces across the bargaining table, and the process of give and take, demand and compromise, will continue as before.

Why do conservative and presumably hard-headed employer groups profess anxiety? I suspect that the reasons have little or nothing to do with economics or the realities of collective bargaining. I believe that their fears are mostly subjective and are based upon their own class complexes and feelings of insecurity about the future of their status as a class. They have, in short, made the very serious mistake of believing their own propaganda about the "revolutionary" or "socialistic" character of the trade union movement.

If there ever was a time when the bonafide trade unions of America actually believed or practiced the theory of "class struggle," that day has long since passed. The estab-

lished labor movement of today is far more immune to revolutionary slogans and doctrines than were the struggling trade unions of the Nineteenth Century. The success of American labor in achieving practical economic benefits and gains for its members has committed it completely to the preservation of the American economic, social and political system. Where the rhetoric of the trade unions of the distant past fairly bristled with the language and slogans of class conflict, that of the modern trade union movement repeatedly expresses the devotion of labor to the American way of life.

So long as it continues to afford workingmen an adequate opportunity for individual and collective progress, labor has no quarrel with capitalism, the profit motive, the free enterprise system or whatever one may choose to call the American economic structure. Nor does labor have any desire to achieve a position of dominance over other economic groups, or to challenge the legitimate status and prerogatives of management. Can management boast of an equal degree of forbearance in its attitude toward labor? I think not.

NO ONE can deny that there have been many attempts by employers—some of them successful—to break their employes' unions. I know of no case in which a democratic American trade union has ever deliberately undertaken to put any employer of its members out of business.

There is no trade union end that would be served thereby, for the injury of employers or owners as a class is not included in the catalogue of labor's objectives—even though the destruction of trade unions as such appears to be a primary aim of some employers. We want the employers with whom we deal to be successful

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and to make plenty of money. We do not begrudge ownership its profits, for we realize that the success of industrial enterprise is necessary to our own success in achieving substantial economic gains for our members.

I would suggest that it is high time more people in the ranks of management began to recognize that the converse is also true—that the gains achieved by trade unions for their members are also necessary to the long-run success of industrial enterprise in America.

Labor's interest in political affairs never has had as an object the injury or repression of management or the denial of the legitimate rights of management. Our legislative efforts

are directed, not against management or any other group, but in behalf of the rights and interests of workers, for the protection of their right to organize and to operate as unions, to bargain collectively, to receive a decent minimum wage for a fair day's work and to enjoy some protection against the hazards of life through the instrument of social insurance.

We have never sought legislation to suppress or restrain the activities of the N.A.M., the Chamber of Commerce or any association of employers. Yet a very great portion of the lobbying and political activities of those organizations is devoted to the promotion of laws designed to destroy the trade union movement as an ef-

fective instrument of the working men and women of America. It is high time that management began to practice more widely, in this area, the philosophy of free enterprise that it preaches, to follow the policy of "live and let live," and to concede to workers the same opportunity to enjoy rights and liberties that management demands for itself.

Insofar as the relations between labor and employers have contained any element of "class conflict," it has stemmed, not from any revolutionary impulse on the part of organized labor, but from the class-conscious hostility of management.

Labor has been the victim rather than the aggressor in this respect.

Turning the Clock Back

By **ROBERT F. WAGNER**
Mayor of New York City

WE AMERICANS admire and encourage the sort of progress which has made our productive capacity the wonder of the world. Any reorganization of industry which will accomplish greater efficiency, increase productivity and broaden the benefits of all we must approve, even though this greater good be at some personal sacrifice to ourselves.

But if such a reorganization be only to increase profit, by the revival of conditions found intolerable in the past—if the purpose be not the increase of productivity but the exploitation of labor—then we must oppose it with every force at our command.

The right of employees to organize for purposes of collective bargaining we now take for granted. We look upon it as a natural right of man, as indeed it is. And we forget sometimes that it was not always recognized as a legal right.

In our National Labor Relations Act of 1935 we proclaimed the legal right of employees to organize and to bargain collectively. We encouraged unions as a matter of national policy, and we went on to a new prosperity, with improved standards of living for all. After 1935 people organized who would never have dared to join a union until a legal sanction had been given to their right to belong to a union.



MAYOR WAGNER

It is reported that a lady on the way to the guillotine was heard to cry: "O Liberty, what crimes are committed in thy name!" Liberty is a word with great power of persuasion. And today it is misused, with great effect, by well-organized and powerful groups claiming to be dedicated to the preservation of the liberty of the individual to belong to no union and to take no part in any organized activity for the betterment of conditions for himself and his fellows.

A great deal of injustice can be accomplished if it can be disguised

with an attractive slogan. And so we hear about a "right to work" which may provide no work; we hear a new defense of "states' rights"—rights of a state to restrict but not to broaden the security of unions. We hear about "liberty for the individual"—but, strangely, it is not the individual who is supposed to be the beneficiary of this liberty who is crying for it.

What are the true intentions of these protagonists of "liberty"? It is noteworthy that the so-called "right to work" laws have found favor first in those areas where labor has been ill-paid and ill-treated. These laws are a convenient device for perpetuating conditions which are conducive to cheap production, if not efficient production.

No one seriously suggests that these laws restricting union security make for improved labor relations. Enlightened management recognizes that the union shop has been a great boon to stability in labor relations and has largely eliminated confusion, discontent and industrial strife. Intelligent, progressive management is not opposed to the union shop or union security.

Those who support this restrictive type of legislation hope not to deal with many unions but rather to deal with none at all.

*American trade unionists dreamed of better living and set their goals high.
We have won higher wages, better conditions and—above all—dignity.
Now we have a vital role to play in the building of a better world.*

Let's Keep Marching Forward

By JACOB S. POTOFSKY

President, Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America

ORGANIZED LABOR is concerned with the cause of peace and freedom and with higher living standards for the workers throughout the world. When we sit together in the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, we sit as brothers united and dedicated to help mankind achieve the aims which have created the trade union movements of the Twentieth Century. We who are free seek to help those who are enslaved. We who have built powerful labor organizations ask only for the opportunity to help other workers build similar strong labor organizations for themselves.

We know what free trade unions have done to bring about high living standards in North America. We want to see strong, free trade unions in other parts of the world so that they too can enjoy peace with freedom, security with freedom. We know too well that peace without freedom and security is meaningless.

I do not mean to imply that we have reached the millennium. Far from it. There are still millions of unorganized workers who do not enjoy the benefits of trade unionism; who are denied the opportunity to improve the material and spiritual conditions of life for themselves and their children. That is one of the reasons why American workers have welcomed the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

We aim to unite, solidify and make organized labor more effective. We see a golden opportunity to bring trade unionism to millions of unorganized workers.

The merger was planned not only in the best interests of organized labor but also in the best interests of the

respective communities where we function. Organized labor is identified and concerned with the best interests of all citizens.

It is concerned with the issues and problems, domestic and international, that affect us all.

The first fruits of the merger will be a vast organizing campaign so that those workers who are weak before powerful industry groups can have spokesmen who will help them rise in the economic scale.

There is much to be done in vast areas of the world. As we look around us, we see dark spots, dictatorships, red and black; hunger, illiteracy and indescribable poverty.

There are great areas in Asia, Africa and Latin America with millions upon millions of people whose daily

food is a few grains of rice or a handful of wheat, who live in sub-human destitution and who face a future of endless despair. They crave leisure, education and a civilization that will afford them what we take for granted. They crave, too, democracy and independence.

It is upon the frustrated hopes of these millions of men and women and their children that the totalitarian dictatorships build their empires and seek to extend them over the free world.

What are our answers to these problems? Free labor has one answer among others—and that is the use of atomic energy for the benefit of mankind—not for human annihilation but for human betterment and advancement.



Mr. Potofsky (left) has John Livingston, AFL-CIO director of organization, for a listener as he emphasizes that every worker should regard international affairs as his business.

A few months ago the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions convened a trade union conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The conference called for ample financial and technical assistance to economically underdeveloped countries for the development of an atomic energy industry for peaceful purposes, and thus raise the living standards of their people.

When we realize that by splitting the atom we can transform deserts into arable land, turn raging torrents into useful rivers, produce boundless prosperity where there is now infinite want—especially in the underdeveloped countries—we ask the world to undertake these tasks boldly, creatively, energetically and to remove from this world the shadows which haunt and plague us and undermine

the very foundation of our democratic institutions.

Free labor looks upon mere survival as an insufficient goal for humanity. If survival were our primary aim, there would be no union movement. It is because we dreamed dreams of better living, because we constantly kept before our people what seemed to be unattainable goals, that we have marched forward and attained those goals—the eight-hour day, a welfare program that spells security against sickness and old age, a guaranteed annual wage and, above all, dignity of men who labor.

Let us continue to move forward. Let us strengthen the greatest peaceful agency, the United Nations, and its specialized agencies. Let us keep our defenses strong. We must be strong to keep the peace.

Let us in the same way keep free labor strong. Free labor means a free world. The free workers of the world are pledged to build a better world, a peaceful world. We have withstood the ravages of war and depression and built anew. We have resisted dictatorships and strengthened our democracies. We have given mankind a charter of freedom and a noble design for living which we mean to spread in every corner of the world. We of the American labor movement are dedicated to making this goal a living reality within our time.

Let's keep marching ever forward!

The foregoing article was drawn from an address which Mr. Potofsky delivered in Canada not long ago.

What Price Southern Industrialization?

By JACK HOWARD

President, Local 330, Office Employees International Union, Tulsa, Oklahoma

A LARGE factor in the slow development of the South was the poverty left as a result of the Civil War. For many years the South did not have the capital or the technical skills to develop a full-scale manufacturing industry. In more recent years, and in particular during the last two decades, the pace of industrialization in the South has noticeably quickened.

Companies have become more aware of the many basic advantages of the South as a site for modern industry. Perhaps the most important single factor in the expansion of Southern industry has been the growing attraction of the South as a market for all types of consumer products. The gradually increasing level of income has led many firms to locate new branch plants in or near this rapidly growing market.

The South's abundant supply of raw materials has also proved a factor in plant location. The development of cheap power, in part through the operation of the Tennessee Valley Authority, has been important to many types of industries.

The agricultural products grown in the South are utilized in new meat-packing and other food-processing plants. The availability of forest

products, petroleum and natural gas as well as a number of important minerals has helped to encourage industrialization.

The majority of firms which have located in the South have done so for sound reasons. However, a growing number of firms have been attracted to the South because at the new location they could obtain special subsidies in the form of a free plant, low rent, tax concessions or low wage rates and labor standards.

In an increasing number of cases these subsidies have proved sufficient to uproot firms from their previous location in the North, to get them to abandon their existing labor force and move the entire concern to a new location in the South. This type of industrial migration has left poverty, unemployment and industrial chaos in its wake, while providing only a dubious or transitory advantage to the industrialized South.

Prior to 1947 management realized the many natural advantages of the South as an industrial location, but the labor question yet remained. When the Taft-Hartley Act was passed in 1947, definite plans were laid to take advantage of the disastrous 14-B clause set forth in that law.

After careful planning and false

representation, an erroneously named "right to work" law was enacted in the state of Florida. Such legislation spread to other Southern states. Today Oklahoma, with no so-called "right to work" law, stands alone in the region.

What does this mean to Oklahoma? Let us compare Oklahoma with our sister state, Arkansas. With approximately 81,000 workers employed in manufacturing in each state, we find that hourly wages paid annually for manufacturing work in Oklahoma total \$69,000,000 more than in Arkansas.

A so-called "right to work" law would do irreparable harm to Oklahoma's present standard of living. Such legislation would adversely affect the Oklahoma wage-earner first, then the small business man, the farmer—in fact, every segment of our economy. We must not forget that decent wages are the sole guarantee of a prosperous economy.

We are heartily in accord with the industrialization of the South. We admit our natural resources. But we are not in accord with any plan that sacrifices higher wages. And we have yet to see any of the Southern states benefited by "right to work" legislation.

PUBLIC RELATIONS HELPS MINNESOTA LABOR

By ROBERT A. OLSON

President, Minnesota State Federation of Labor

YEARS of taking it on the chin, both in public attitude and legislation unfavorable to the men who hold union cards, led to the establishment of a public relations division within the Minnesota State Federation of Labor back in 1943.

We had had our share of anti-labor legislation in Minnesota. Each session of the state legislature brought up some new angle of labor-management relations that put labor in a bad light. A few teamsters checking union memberships inadvertently might stop a farmer's truck. This usually led to a flood of propaganda about teamsters "trying to take jurisdiction over the state highways." A building trades union might picket a plant supplying a non-union contractor with materials. This brought forth an outcry against the unions "picking on an innocent bystander."

Such incidents became mighty weapons of propaganda in the hands of a knavish employers' association. Their publicity men flooded the rural newspapers with the details of the horrendous events, while their lobbyists belabored legislators with the need for new anti-labor laws to curb such practices.

Organized labor had no means for defense. We could tell our story through the labor press, but the labor press did not reach the public. The result was a succession of laws curbing union activity, banning secondary boycotts, authorizing damage suits against trade unions and their members individually and prohibiting strikes by public employes and those doing menial jobs in hospitals. Other restrictions on union activity were also imposed.

The Minnesota labor movement noticed that its enemies had public

relations divisions to get their best sides before the public. In the public—and particularly rural—eye they never did wrong, not even the farm supply institutions that grew rich buying from and selling to the farmer. Labor thought that, if public relations was so effective for the enemies of labor, it might be a good thing for the labor movement to try as a means of countering the anti-labor propaganda.

It was obvious that we'd have to get to the farmers with a more palatable story about labor than they had been getting. Time after time, after several months of pleading the wage-earners' case in hearings on hostile legislation, we were convinced that the rural members elected to the legislature came to the Capitol in St. Paul with their minds poisoned against the city wage-earners. If they wavered, a program of wining and dining by the lobbyists for the employers' association lobbyists took care of them.

OF COURSE, the State Federation of Labor had its doubts about a labor public relations program. We knew nothing about publicity. Our labor papers were carrying our story to our own members, but we knew nothing about getting to the general public and the farmers. We'd have to have someone trained in this field, and the public relations men were in the newspaper, advertising and radio fields—the media used by our enemies.

The 1943 convention of the State Federation of Labor decided to try the public relations approach. Though many of us were dubious, we were aware that something would have to be done or organized labor

in Minnesota would become something that only the old-timers would remember. Establishment of a public relations division was authorized and a tax of two cents per capita per month was voted to finance it.

The division was to go out and sell organized labor to the people outside the Minnesota labor movement, with special emphasis on the farmers. They were the folks who held the political power that could destroy the effectiveness of the labor movement.

Perhaps we were fortunate in our selection of a public relations director. He had been a political writer on a Minneapolis newspaper, but he had been brought up in a union home. His father had held a card in the Brotherhood of Painters for more than fifty years. He was a liberal in his political views and had relatives on farms in Minnesota.

The director—Orlin Folwick—suggested that our initial approach to the farmer deal with the food the farmer raises and sells. The farmer is concerned with the size of the bulge in his pocketbook.

Show the farmer that labor is his biggest customer. Working people buy immeasurably more beef and pork, milk and cream, bread and butter, eggs and bacon than industrialists because there are so many more working people. Besides, hard-working wage-earners are hungrier than swivel-chair occupants.

Show the farmer that a well-paid customer is likely to buy more and pay a better price for these items than a poorly paid one. The farmer, a reasonable citizen, will begin to have some respect for the fellow who can buy his products and sooner or later will learn that there is a relationship

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between what a city wage-earner can collect and what the farmer can get.

Fraternity and political aims would come next. The objective would be to show the farmer that he had a lot more in common with the city wage-earner than with the big corporation employer or the elevator owner, implement manufacturer or feed mill owner. Success would mean indifference by the farmer to the anti-labor propaganda screaming at him in the rural papers and possibly a reversal in the attitude of his legislators on anti-labor proposals.

One of the first steps in this direction was to dig out of the U.S. Department of Agriculture statistics the figures on consumption of food by the people of the United States. These figures came valiantly to our aid. They showed a considerable difference in consumption of farm products between the depression years and the more prosperous ones following World War II.

We applied the figures to our American Federation of Labor membership in Minnesota and were able to show how our people, right here at home, because of better wages, were able to increase their consumption of milk, butter, beef, pork, eggs and a number of other farm commodities raised on Minnesota farms.

DRESSING up the figures in small ads which we published in 400-odd rural Minnesota newspapers, we presented the food consumption facts item by item in a campaign that ran for a year. The effects were impressive. Farmers wrote us, telling us they hadn't realized how important the city man's buying was to the marketing of farm products. This was the wedge that was to pry the farmer away from the employers' association "knock labor" audience.

As these ads attracted attention in the rural areas, we began to receive invitations to speak before farm and even business groups in the rural areas. We sought to tell a straightforward story: how the city wage-earner has to depend entirely on his wages for the living of himself and his family, how he wants to own his own home, participate in civic affairs, assume a responsible position in school and church affairs, how he dreams of sending his children to college so they can lead easier lives.

We pulled no punches on differ-

ences between union wage-earners and employers, but we stressed the point that the strike was our last resort, that we tried to negotiate and "talk across the table" to convince our employers that rising costs and standards of living required increased pay checks. We opened up for questions and tried to answer them candidly. It was difficult at times to justify situations that, although plain and reasonable to us, had been portrayed against us in news stories. I don't suppose we knocked out very many of the ideas the farmers and small town business men had, but we dented them some.

Along about this time the Federal Trade Commission issued a report on an investigation into the cost factors in manufacturing farm machinery and implements. Fortunately for us, some of the figures were predicated on distribution in Minneapolis, a key point in farm machinery and implement supply for the entire Northwest area. These figures were made to order for our rural campaign.

They completely contradicted an age-old propaganda saw that wages were the reason for the rising costs of farm machinery and implements—the plows, cultivators, tractors and the other items so vital to farming.

The Federal Trade Commission had investigated these costs thoroughly. Among the costs it had noted the labor factor. Instead of being the item that ran the costs up, the labor factor, according to the FTC findings, was only a minor factor. On the basis of each dollar the farmer spent for these machines, the fellow in the factory or on the assembly line got seven or eight cents. The figure was that low. Somebody else was taking the other ninety-two or ninety-three cents for rent, overhead,

light, heat, commissions and profits and materials.

As we studied these figures it occurred to us that the people who were getting the most out of the farmers' dollars were the people who were blaming the high prices on the working people.

We published excerpts from the Federal Trade Commission report as they applied to Minnesota. We did it in ads in the rural papers and in talks before groups outside the labor movement. It hurt the anti-labor propagandists, and they scurried to disprove our statements. They found it difficult to disprove the findings of an official government agency and we were on solid ground.

Our disclosure of these facts had many repercussions among farmers who admitted they had been misled and were more convinced than ever that they were filling the pockets of the wrong people.

A LONG about this time the 1948 elections began attracting attention. One of the major figures in that election was to be Minnesota's United States Senator, Joseph Ball. Senator Ball had gone to Washington as an appointee in 1942. He had been liberal in his views and had supported Roosevelt in 1944. After the 1944 election, however, the Senator had begun to change his views. He became a protagonist for the Taft-Hartley Act, and by 1948 he was quite a different politician from what he had been in 1942.

Late in 1947, William Green called me and said that Minnesota would have to defeat Senator Ball for reelection. There were no ifs, ands or buts about it. Help would come, President Green said, from Labor's League for Political Education, but we Minne-

for *Better* citizenship,
listen regularly to

**Edward P. Morgan and
John W. Vandercook**

otans would have to depend upon ourselves to raise the bulk of whatever funds it would take.

A study of the situation pointed up the fact that our campaigning would have to be done among the farmers. There would have to be too big an overturn of the Republican vote in the cities to offset the normal Republican farm vote to defeat Senator Ball. Labor alone simply did not have the votes to do the job.

It was also apparent that to campaign against Senator Ball on the Taft-Hartley issue would be useless. We would have had to explain the law and why we felt it hurt us. To call the law names would not interest the farmer, and if we tried to explain it the farmer would soon be likely to shrug his shoulders and reply: "So what? I've got problems of my own."

We felt we would have to find a farm issue or two on which Senator Ball had been wrong by Minnesota standards and attack along that line. Our public relations division went to work on the problem. It combed every page of the *Congressional Record* since Senator Ball had taken office in 1942 and came up with nearly 100 instances in which he could be criticized for votes on subjects concerning the farmer, small businessmen, veterans and labor.

Involved in these votes were appropriations for rural electrification, Commodity Credit Corporation, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, Veterans Administration, Small Business Administration and a number of others. They all needed appropriations, to extend rural electric lines, hot lunches for rural school children, help through loans for struggling small businessmen, aids in various forms for World War II veterans. The *Congressional Record* disclosed that Senator Ball, far from being a liberal, had voted against many of these appropriations and had sided with the big business elements that opposed them.

Labor had the facts. Now we had to get them to the farmer and small town business men. We decided upon a fact sheet to be mailed directly to the farmers, giving them a report from the record on Senator Ball's votes without going into any political discussions, attacks or promotions. It was an educational campaign to show the farmers of Minnesota how their

Senator had voted on important issues.

We said no unkind things about him, nor did we ask anyone not to vote for him. We said plainly that we wanted to present the facts. Then the farmers, veterans and small businessmen could decide for themselves. Thus was born our *Minnesota Facts*, which we then called *Facts for Farmers*.

Facts was a four-page, letter-size paper folded and mailed in an envelope bearing the name and address of the farmer to whom it was sent. That sounds simple, but it took us months to prepare for it. First, we bought a mailing list containing 200,000 farm names. We bought an addressograph machine and blank plates, rented six graphotype machines to stamp the names on the plates and hired a crew of girls to do this job.

The names were arranged by towns and counties and indexed by legislative and Congressional districts. This would permit us to center our efforts on specific areas if need be. *Facts* thereby would come with the name and address of the individual, sealed in an envelope and having the appearance of something more personal than the usual political broadside.

Information for *Facts* was written up in short articles describing the bill, its meaning to the farmers, small businessmen or veterans and how Senator Ball had voted on it. The date also was given. So many instances of Senator Ball's votes had been collected from the *Congressional Record* that there wasn't room enough to record them all. Thus we could choose the most significant measures for our first issue.

We got the copies out in July of 1948, just a month before Senator Ball returned to Minnesota for his campaign. He chose rural audiences for his first appearances with the idea of winning as much publicity as possible for his Taft-Hartley efforts.

The farmers sat patiently through his first speech, in a Southern Minnesota rural community, and then some of them drew from their pockets a copy of *Facts* and asked questions. Why had Senator Ball voted against REA appropriation increases? Why had he voted against Commodity Credit Corporation appropriation boosts? Why hadn't he gone along on the school lunch program?

The situation was embarrassing. The Senator wasn't prepared to answer such questions. He had with him no material to back up whatever position he had taken. *Facts* plagued him throughout the campaign.

When the votes were counted, Senator Ball had been routed by Hubert H. Humphrey, then mayor of Minneapolis. That *Facts* had done the job was attested by the majorities given Humphrey in the rural areas where Ball's strength was supposed to be impregnable. In fact, Humphrey did better in many rural areas than in the cities.

Since the Taft-Hartley Act threw a considerable responsibility on the state legislatures in regulating labor-management problems, the Minnesota State Federation of Labor knew that its job henceforth would deal with convincing legislators that at least some of labor's views were reasonable and that not all the proposals of the employing groups necessarily had to be good.

AT THAT time the Minnesota House of Representatives had twenty-six members friendly to labor. The House had a total of 131 members. Nearly all of the friendly twenty-six were from labor areas in the three large cities of the state and the iron range area. A few were from liberal farming districts. There were nine friendly Senators out of a total of sixty-seven, and they, too, were chiefly from city labor areas. Labor would need sixty more House members and twenty-five more in the Senate. Obviously, there was a lot of work to be done in the rural areas.

We knew that our going into rural areas and recommending election of legislators who would be friendly to labor would be resented. Farmers don't like having "big city" people come in and tell them what to do in their elections. In addition, a candidate pointed out as being friendly to labor would soon be tagged as a tool of the labor bosses" if we came out in his support.

The approach used in the Ball campaign was decided upon to seek more friendly faces in the state legislature. We would follow an educational line of reporting on the votes cast by individual legislators on important state issues. We would not recommend anyone, nor would we ask the farmers to defeat (Continued on Page 38)

AFL-CIO Officers Are Honored

HONORARY degrees of Doctor of Laws were conferred upon George Meany and William F. Schnitzler, president and secretary-treasurer, respectively, of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, by Seton Hall University. The presentations were made at a special labor convocation which opened the institution's centennial year. Seton Hall is located at South Orange, New Jersey. The convocation was held January 8.

President Meany, speaking for himself and Mr. Schnitzler, expressed deep appreciation.

"The honor you have conferred upon us is, above all, a timely tribute to the growing vision, influence and responsibility of more than 15,000,000 American workers in their new unity," Mr. Meany said. "We, as officers of the AFL-CIO, welcome this great honor. It will encourage us to greater devotion to the highest ideals and worthiest aims of the free labor movement."

The degrees were presented by the president of Seton Hall's board of trustees, the Most Rev. Archbishop Thomas A. Boland, who praised the AFL-CIO for the principles which have been set down for the operation of the merged labor federation. Archbishop Boland voiced his confidence that the AFL-CIO will always work "for justice and shun anything that is not just." He said that Mr. Meany had been forthright in declaring his "dependence on Almighty God."

In an address, Mr. Meany declared that the time has arrived for the United States to take a good look at its experience of the last ten years in the field of foreign aid.

"No doubt we have made mistakes," he said. "No doubt we must do some things better than we have done to date. No doubt we should even stop doing some of the things we have been doing. No doubt we must meet new tasks in the foreign aid field. But let us not get panicky and rush to drown rubles with dollars."

Our country must always be ready to help the needy, Mr. Meany asserted, but no help should ever be given to tyrants and oppressors. He denounced business deals with Communist Russia and Communist China. No monetary profits in such deals would ever make up for the resulting damage and tragedy, he warned.

Mr. Meany emphasized that American labor opposes dictators of every kind.

"Free labor unionism and totalitarianism



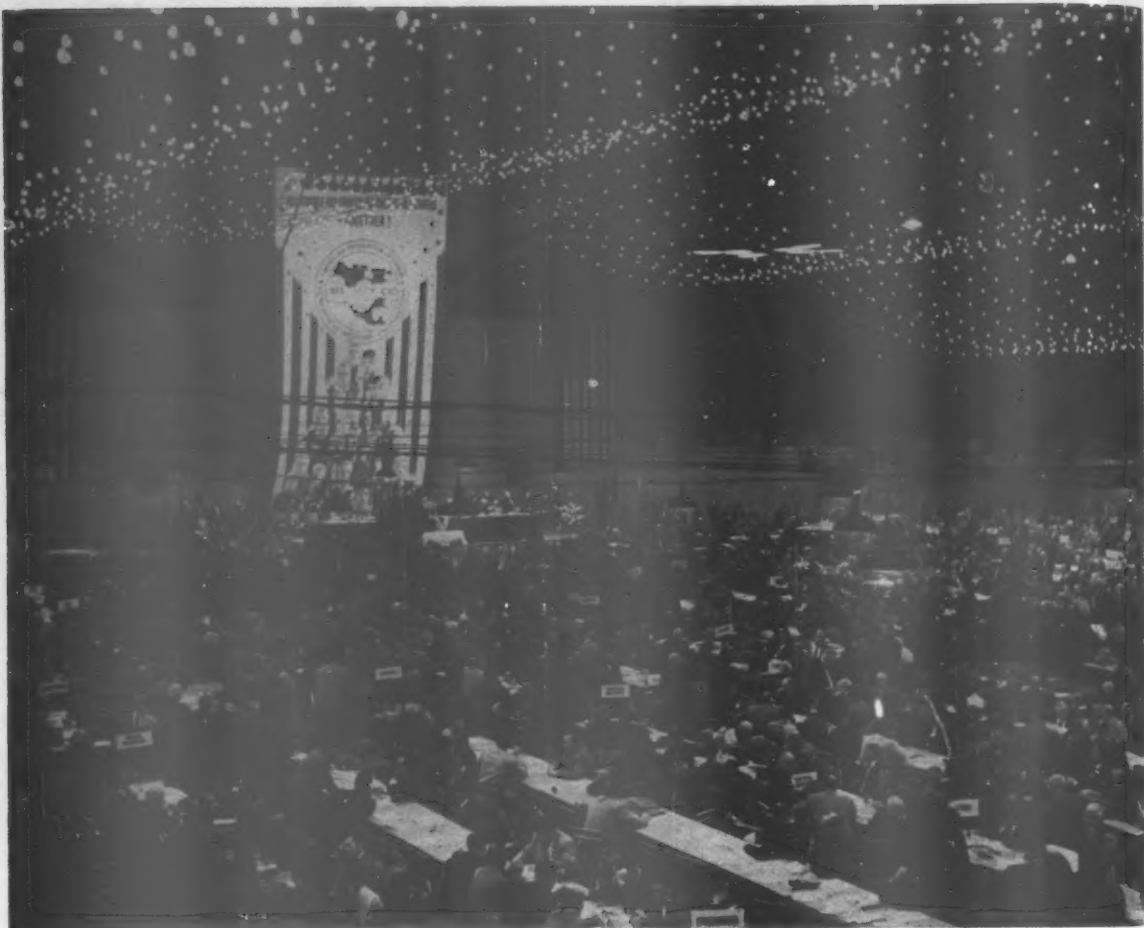
Leaders of AFL-CIO received degrees from Seton Hall University.



A large throng was present and heard an address by George Meany.

simply cannot co-exist," he said. "They negate each other. Where a Lenin, Stalin, Hitler, Franco, Mussolini, Peron or Khrushchev rules,

there free labor unions are ruined." Dictators have always made free labor organizations their first target, Mr. Meany pointed out.



Delegates and guests filled the 71st Regiment Armory in New York City as the AFL and CIO merged.

The Convention That Made History

4th DAY

[CONTINUED]

AFTER the entertainment interlude which opened the afternoon session [See January issue, Page 45], Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt was escorted to the platform. She was received very warmly by the great throng, and President Meany, in introducing Mrs. Roosevelt, told the delegates:

"Ladies and gentlemen, to me this is the highlight of this convention—the opportunity to present to you the

No. 1 lady, the first lady, of the entire world."

The widow of the four-term Chief Executive opened her address by observing that she felt very much at home "because, as you know, I am a union member, too." She has been a member of the American Newspaper Guild since its early days.

"I have come today to congratulate you—to congratulate you on achieving a difficult task," Mrs. Roosevelt

said. "You will have difficulties and you will have problems, but you will work them out because your leaders have intelligence and a desire to work them out. This same thing can, I think, eventually come in the world. Perhaps you are pointing the way."

"I hope that the merger does mean more power for the people of the country, but I hope the people of the country who are members of these great unions are going to be willing

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to do the work to get the education to begin the understanding, both at home and abroad, that will mean that you are coming to a better power as a beacon light here at home and throughout the world."

Mrs. Roosevelt placed great stress on the importance of education and participation in public affairs by every American.

"We have managed to make great changes here at home," she said, "and we have done it through the education of the mass of our people and through the leadership that came from among the people. We can have an influence in our government if we will take the trouble.

"I sometimes am a little grieved to find that among us, living in a democracy where the people can control their government, we sometimes do not take the trouble to be active enough in bringing about the conditions which we know should exist. That means we have to work to find out, very often. We have to be active to get the right candidates. We have to support them once they are in office, and we have to know about the issues.

"You can't be lazy in your mind if you are going to be a good citizen in a democracy. Your mind has to work, and you need more education.

"We need to watch our education, which is at a critical period today. There are lots of youngsters today who are not being fairly treated. In many cases there are youngsters who cannot go to school until noon. They don't get the most out of their education. They have used up much of their energy in the hours when they are not in school, and they will not do as well in school.

"There is no reason why we cannot see to it that the policy of our government, state and national, is fair to our children, that they do not come to a complicated world, which requires greater understanding of the world, without proper preparation.

"I have watched our youngsters in different parts of the world, in the Army, in the Navy, in businesses, in government agencies, and sometimes I have been sad because they had not started with proper preparation. They must learn in primary school to think about people as people, not to assume that because my skin is white and your skin is yellow or

black that you are not feeling as I feel or that you are not capable of development as I am capable. That has to begin with our education in primary school.

"Then you have to learn about countries and customs and habits of people and religion. We send our youngsters out often so badly prepared. Now we—the greatest number of people in organized labor—will have more power for good—also more power for evil—than we have ever had before. I believe it is going to be power for good.

"I believe that we are going to understand the problems of the world as a whole. What we have been doing of late is to wait until some particular problem could no longer be ignored and then try to settle that problem. You can't do that today. You have to have a world picture in your mind all the time and try to make the pieces fit together to work toward the mainstream of what you want done in the world."

In her address to the convention, Mrs. Roosevelt took cognizance of the apprehensions of some Americans in regard to the merger of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

"I want to tell you," she declared, "that I am very happy over this merger because I feel that it will give labor in this country more power to exert influence. It will be natural to tell you that not only will this strengthen you and achieve greater success in the interest of labor, but my feeling is that labor really today



All present were gripped by the drama of the tremendous event.

includes almost all American citizens, and therefore it is not only on your added power and influence that I would lay emphasis.

"I think I would like to say that the most important thing is that

since you have this new power you will also accept greater responsibility as citizens, and you will become a greater influence in American life, and your influence will be an influence for the well-being of all the people of our country. I hope it will also be an influence for the well-being of all the people of the world."

President Meany at the close of Mrs. Roosevelt's address, said:

"I am sure I express the opinion of all present when I say that this was the outstanding address of the convention. Our thanks to a great lady, Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt."

President Meany introduced, for a bow, Miss Rose Schneiderman, Mrs. Roosevelt's trade union mentor of long ago. He said:

"This is Rose Schneiderman, a veteran worker in the trade union movement for women in all the shops and all the plants in this part of the world."

Organizing Drive

The Resolutions Committee resumed its report. Reuben G. Soderstrom, president of the Illinois State Federation of Labor and co-secretary of the Resolutions Committee, presented the eagerly awaited resolution on the vital subject of organization of the unorganized.

"We must bring the benefits and protection of unionism to millions of unorganized workers who need, deserve and must have them," the resolution said. "The task will require our most vigorous efforts. It will require the rallying of the combined members and resources of the trade union movement as never before. We must dedicate ourselves wholeheartedly to the fulfilling of this great mission.

"In recent years there have been some notable gains in union organization, and we properly hail them. But frankness compels the conclusion that unionization of new areas or new industries during the past decade has not kept pace. The great gains recorded in the 1930s and 1940s have not been matched during the past few years. Growth in total union membership has come primarily from economic expansion in establishments and industries already organized.

"Frankness also compels the admission that too great a portion of



John Livingston voiced confidence that coming organizing drives of the AFL-CIO will succeed.

organizing effort in the last ten years has been devoted to recruiting workers previously organized by others. Fortunately, this development has been substantially slowed down in the period since the no-raiding agreement has been in effect, and will, it is hoped, be entirely eliminated in the years ahead.

"The approximately 17,000,000 workers who are organized today represent only one out every three wage and salary workers employed in the United States. Some of those now unorganized are in supervision or in other such activities as will probably keep them outside the union movement. There is no sound economic reason why the remaining great bulk of those now unorganized should not have the aid and protection which only unionism can afford them.

"The trade union movement's objective in the years immediately ahead must be at least the doubling of union membership. This is indeed a tremendous challenge, but through our combined efforts, we can and will help these unorganized workers to achieve unionization."

The resolution emphasized that the low standards prevailing among the unorganized are a depressing influence on the national economy. Organization of the unorganized, it

was pointed out, would raise the standards of these workers and bolster their purchasing power, "thereby contributing notably to sound economic growth for the nation."

The resolution continued:

"We well recognize that the organizing job is a difficult assignment which will not be achieved overnight. There is no magic formula to hasten results, nor are eager intentions alone adequate to the task. It will require realistic appraisal of the obstacles, careful and imaginative planning, years of untiring effort and unfailing determination, and full use of our resources."

After citing the obstacles to organization contained in the Taft-Hartley Act and the mislabeled "right to work" laws enacted by eighteen states, the organizing resolution recalled even greater difficulties which trade unionists overcame in the past and pledged that labor "will not be daunted" by today's hurdles.

The resolution dedicated the AFL-CIO and its affiliated unions to the fullest and "most vigorous" support of an expanded organizing program "equal to the task of overcoming the obstacles in the path of nationwide organization." The federation and the affiliated organizations pledged themselves to "do everything in our power to further such organization of the unorganized."

Reuther Speaks

Before the resolution was submitted to a vote, President Meany recognized Vice-President Reuther. Discussing the resolution, the president of the United Automobile Workers said:

"We have not achieved labor unity based upon stagnation. We have achieved labor unity to provide new, dynamic forces out of which we can build a bigger, stronger labor movement.

"The organization of millions of unorganized workers is the key to the question of economic justice, of a full measure of the good things of life for millions of workers who yet are denied the benefits and protection of belonging to a union.

"This matter of organizing the unorganized is not just a matter of economic justice for the wage-earner and for his loved ones. It is a matter of economic necessity, because we can-

not achieve the kind of expanding economy we need unless the organized labor movement organizes the millions of unorganized who at present enjoy second-class economic citizenship, and make these workers into first-class economic citizens so that they can buy the things that a living wage makes possible to buy.

"You can talk all you want about raising the levels of political morality, about the people who come from certain Southern sections of our country. I say to you, you will not raise the political level of morality and get better people in government from those areas until you first build strong unions in the Southern states. * * *

"I am happy to be able to report—and our task is not yet finished—that the unions that formerly were affiliated with the CIO are pledging, as we leave this convention, \$4,000,000 to the organizing campaign to help organize workers all over America."

Mr. Reuther asserted that "this is the greatest opportunity that we have ever had." Millions of unorganized workers "are waiting for you and me," he said.

"We can do a job," he declared. "We are capable of that job. We have the resources and the tools. Let us demonstrate that we have the common dedication and the common will, and let us go forward with our banners high, confident that between now and the next convention we can organize millions of unorganized workers into unions."

Delegate W. A. Rowe, representing the Central Labor Union of Augusta, Georgia, hailed the merger. He praised Mr. Reuther's remarks.

"If he ever comes down South and I am still able to be around there, I will certainly make my services available to him," the delegate said.

Mr. Rowe castigated state and municipal governments which interfere with the organization of governmental employees. He described state laws and municipal ordinances under which such workers have been forbidden to join a union.

"To us in the South and around in these eighteen states that have these 'right to work' laws," Mr. Rowe told the convention, "I want you to know that fifteen of them have Democratic governors. It isn't the Republicans altogether that are giving us hell in the South. It is these Democrats."

The convention adopted the resolu-



From now on, President Meany emphasized, the only label is AFL-CIO.

tion on organizing the unorganized by unanimous vote. Then the convention adopted a resolution establishing a body to be known as the Organizing Fund-Raising Committee. This action was also by unanimous vote.

This important resolution, which was presented to the convention by Resolutions Committee Co-Secretary Soderstrom, read as follows:

"This founding convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations should properly consider our weakness as well as our strength. We are properly proud of the achievement that brings together under a single banner more than 15,000,000 organized workers. But even in this hour of triumph we must give thought to the 30,000,000 industrial workers, all

of whom come within the jurisdiction of our member unions, who as yet do not enjoy their legal and moral right to organize and bargain collectively. The organization of these workers must and will be a primary concern of the great new federation that has been formed here.

"We recognize that the task is not an easy one. Legal and illegal obstacles, many of them formidable, stand in the way of workers who seek to exercise the rights supposedly granted them by federal statute. The inadequate safeguards of the Wagner Act were largely nullified by the Taft-Hartley Law which supplanted it and have been wiped out almost entirely by those who presently are charged with administering and interpreting the law.

"But these handicaps cannot be removed by complaining about them. They must be surmounted; for while they remain, the unorganized workers and the communities in which they live will suffer economic discrimination, to the peril of our national prosperity.

"Nor is this an economic problem alone. The unorganized worker cannot assure himself of his full rights as an individual or his full equality as a free citizen. The liberty he enjoys

The Resolutions Committee put in many hours of toil. Everyone agreed that this group did an excellent job.





Plea for more community services by unions was made by Joseph Beirne, Communications Workers' chief.



Presidents Jacob Potofsky (left) of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and David Dubinsky, Ladies' Garment Workers, chatted about cooperative housing.

outside his job vanishes the moment he enters his place of employment. If Americans are to enjoy the fruits of democracy twenty-four hours a day, they must have democracy on the job.

"There is a general recognition among our members of the importance of this task. Already a number of international unions representing substantial membership have indicated their willingness to contribute voluntarily substantial sums of money so that the AFL-CIO organizing effort can be adequately financed.

"Therefore, this founding convention of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations instructs the president of our organization to appoint a committee, chosen from among the top officers of affiliated unions, to be known as the Organizing Fund-Raising Committee. And we call upon all organizations within the AFL-CIO to contribute to this fund and to devote to this vital objective their unstinting efforts, for the greater good of our member unions, the workers and the nation."

Following the convention's adoption of this resolution, President Meany recognized A. H. Raskin of



President M. A. Hutcheson led the delegation of the Carpenters and Joiners.

the New York Times. Speaking for all the members of the working press covering the great conclave of labor, Mr. Raskin said:

"The merger of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations was the biggest news story in labor history. We, the members of the working press, wish to express our grateful apprecia-

Teamsters' delegation was headed by Dave Beck. Ten delegates represented a total of 1,229,798 members.





A most cordial reception was given Eleanor Roosevelt. Her speech contained much food for thought.

tion to the AFL-CIO press and publicity staffs for their tireless efforts to assist us in getting that story to the public promptly, accurately and fully."

Resolutions Committee Co-Secretary Joseph Curran was then recognized by President Meany for a continuation of the committee's report. He submitted a resolution urging vigorous promotion of union labels, union shop cards and union working buttons. These were termed "important weapons in labor's arsenal."

Label Talk Is Heard

Before the resolution was voted on, President John Blackburn of the Amalgamated Lithographers told the convention that "never in our history has there been a greater need for union label education or a greater opportunity for success."

"Today any union organizing new

workers is faced with greater obstacles than ever before," Mr. Blackburn said. "You all know what they are. The Taft-Hartley Law and its

state-spawned imitators, the so-called 'right to work' laws. The problem of runaway shops. Growing monopoly control in certain industries, and the



Robert Bothereau (left) of the Force Ouvriere, France's democratic labor movement, got together with Irving Brown.



Each day many thousands of words were pounded out by newspapermen.



Help of AFL-CIO in covering the big story drew praise from the press. At the microphone is reporter A. H. Raskin.

development of companies which are economically powerful enough to shut down factories and shops and open elsewhere merely to avoid unionization of its workers. These problems face every union in this hall. Every union in this hall, therefore, has a rightful interest in any tool which will help overcome them.

"Our basic strength as union members is the strength we exercise over the bargaining table. Collective bargaining, backed up by the strike when necessary, has been the source of most of our gains in the past and undoubtedly will continue to be so for many years.

"Our second source of strength—and this is more recent in development—is our strength as voters, at the polls. We have all come to recognize that some gains can only be protected, and others won, through political and legislative action in Congress and in state legislatures.

"Now I would like to propose that we recognize that labor has a third source of strength—our strength as consumers, expressed in the retail store. And it is this strength which may well be the vital factor in the days ahead.

"Organized labor today represents about a quarter of the total population. In addition, the mass of workers live and work in the great industrial centers of our nation, and in many large cities union members represent a large proportion of the total population. By using the force of their numbers as consumers, just as they have already done as workers

in the shop and as voters at the polls, union members can exert a powerful force.

"We have seen it happen already. The Clothing Workers have proved the effectiveness of consumer action, and so have many other unions. Now the two houses of labor are one, and now is the time to promote consumer action by organized labor on a greater scale than ever before.

"We, the Amalgamated Lithographers, have accepted the new spirit of unity in the house of labor. We have applied to the Allied Printing Trades Council for the right to participate with them in the support of a union label which will represent all printing trades unions.

"We endorse earlier remarks made this week in convention: 'There shall be one union label, a label which represents good wages, good working conditions and fair standards, a union label in which the consumer will have the highest confidence.'"

The motion to adopt the union label resolution was seconded and carried unanimously.

The convention then approved declarations, in resolution form, dealing with current merchant marine problems. The delegates called for retention and stronger enforcement of the cargo preference law, legislation guaranteeing the recognition of the hiring hall as "the proper medium for employment in all industries in which its use has been in accepted practice," halting of the transfers of U.S. ships to foreign registry, and adequate funds for proper operation of the

marine hospitals. The question of subsidies for the American merchant marine was referred to the Executive Council for consideration and appropriate action.

Brownlow Speaks

A comprehensive, long-range program for the American shipbuilding industry was approved by the convention after the delegates heard vigorous remarks by James A. Brownlow, president of the Metal Trades Department.

"This is the third time within the last thirty-five years," said Mr. Brownlow, "that we have reached the point where there is practically no shipbuilding within the United States. The same thing occurred following 1919. It again occurred following the last World War and again after the Korean conflict. Why we in the United States should continue to look with apathy upon the destruction of this great industry makes one wonder."

The head of the Metal Trades Department urged that all members of Congress be made aware of what is happening.

"If this industry is going to survive," Mr. Brownlow declared, "it will take the combined efforts of every organization in the American trade union movement to prevail upon Congress to look into the conditions responsible for the death of this industry."

By unanimous vote, the convention adopted a highly important resolution on the subject of farmer-labor unity. This resolution said:

Walter Reuther pledged all-out support of coming campaigns to organize unorganized workers.



"It is only natural that organized labor should have a feeling of kinship toward those who work so hard to raise the nation's food and fibre.

"Millions of AFL-CIO members grew up on farms. Many of their families and friends are still in agriculture. We of labor recognize that the needs and aspirations of farm families differ little from our own.

We are fully aware, too, that farmers and city workers mutually depend upon each other and that one group cannot long prosper unless the other prospers, too.

"Because of these convictions, organized labor has consistently supported efforts to secure a just return and a better life for all who work in agriculture. We have actively supported farm cooperatives, rural elec-

trification, an adequate system of price supports, farm credit aids, soil conservation, crop insurance, farmer coverage under social security and other measures to raise rural housing and health and educational standards.

"While many of these programs involve sizable public outlays which all taxpayers share, organized labor has supported and defended them as vital to the welfare of 7,000,000 farm oper-

Secretary Schnitzler and Vice-President James Carey shared a joke with Adlai Stevenson. The delegates loved Mr. Stevenson's talk.



President Meany and David McDonald. The latter was named a member of AFL-CIO's Executive Committee.



Caught by the Camera



President Meany, Vice-President Reuther and Secretary Schnitzler had their heads together many times during the convention.



Office Employees were keenly interested in action to step up organization of the unorganized.



Henrietta Olding of the Government Employees was in attendance at all times.



Presidents of the three glass unions. From left, Burl W. Phares, Lee W. Minton and Harry H. Cook.



Visiting trade unionists learned about American labor from George P. Delaney (third from left), workers' delegate from U.S. to the International Labor Organization.

Bookbinders were represented by an alert delegation headed by President Robert Haskin (second from left).



New song to mark the merger was written in convention





President George Harrison (left) of the Railway Clerks discussed the rail employees' needs with G. E. Leighty and veteran E. J. Manion, both of Railroad Telegraphers.



A. J. Bernhardt (left), president of Railway Carmen, and Michael Fox, Railroad Employees Department head.



William Hushing of the Legislative Department chatted about Congress and elections with Thelma Dawson, a political education worker.



Actor Melvyn Douglas hailed the merger and served as master of ceremonies for an entertainment interlude.



Earl Jimerson, president of the Meat Cutters.



Exhibits were varied. This one dealt with organized labor in Israel.



Anthony Valente, president,
United Textile Workers.

PEOPLE

AT THE

Merger Meeting



John Blackburn, president
of the Lithographers.



Amalgamated Clothing
Workers' F. Rosenblum.



Matthew Woll was named an
Executive Committee member.



Willard Townsend of the
Transport Service Employees.



Harry D. Sayre, president
of the Paper Workers.



President A. P. Randolph,
Sleeping Car Porters.
He was elected AFL-CIO
vice-president.



William Pollock, Textile
Workers Union of America.



From left, President Anthony Matz of Firemen and Oilers, Bill Schnitzler and President Thomas C. Carroll of the Maintenance of Way Employees.



President Clark of the Signalmen was snapped with the AFL-CIO's officers, and everybody was obviously very serene.



This shot was made at a cocktail party which was given in honor of President Meany by Jacob S. Potofsky, president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. From the left, Governor Harriman of New York, Mr. Potofsky, Mr. Meany and William F. Schnitzler.



Two good old friends. Man at the right is William F. Duggan. He gave George Meany his first plumbing apprenticeship years ago.



Henry C. Fleisher, the AFL-CIO's director of publications, was a busy figure as history was made.



Gordon Cole, Machinists' editor, chatted about newspaper work with Joseph F. Collis, president, American Newspaper Guild.



Visitors from Latin America witnessed the unification of U.S. labor. Shown in this picture with AFL-CIO Secretary Schnitzler and Serafino Romualdi (standing directly behind Mr. Schnitzler), who is the AFL-CIO's representative for Latin America, are leaders of democratic labor from Mexico, Cuba, Chile, Puerto Rico and Venezuela.



International Labor Press contest awards were won by Teachers.



Martin Lacey, Central Trades head, welcomed parley.



United Garment Workers' delegation was headed by President Joseph McCurdy.



Schools were of concern to Selma Borchardt of Teachers, Andrew Biemiller and John Fewkes, Chicago local's leader.



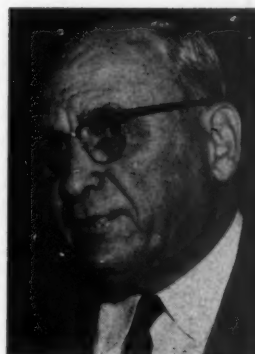
President William Calvin (extreme left) led delegates of the Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Blacksmiths.



John W. Vandercook, radio newsman, watched all developments closely.



Profoundly interested in the affairs of the waterfront were International Brotherhood of Longshoremen delegates.



President Raftery of the Painters.



Patrick E. Gorman (left) and Max Osslo. Former is secretary of Meat Cutters.



Bernard R. Mullady was elected secretary, International Labor Press, and Marie Downey accepted prize for the excellent magazine of Brotherhood of Electrical Workers.



In the usual sequence, AFL-CIO Vice-President William McFetridge, Building Service Employees' president; Stanley Ruttenberg, AFL-CIO research director; Joseph W. Childs, vice-president of United Rubber Workers, and Governor G. Mennen Williams of Michigan, who dropped in informally and made a very brief talk.

[Continued from Page 21]

ators and farm wage-earners and their families. We recognize, in fact, that they are vital to the well-being of the entire nation."

The alibis of Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson and other Administration spokesmen were denounced. Mr. Benson "knows full well," the convention declared, that unions cannot be held responsible for today's agricultural crisis. Such a ridiculous charge, designed to draw attention away from "the failure of his own agricultural policies," does nothing to elevate Mr. Benson's "stature," the delegates said.

The resolution then said:

"A soundly conceived program to raise the income of America's farm families is basic to the welfare of trade unionists. Similarly, our effort to raise city worker standards, through collective bargaining and legislative action, ultimately helps to increase the consumption of food and fiber and thereby underpins and enlarges the market of American agriculture.

"Labor eagerly desires and will vigorously support corrective measures to restore and to raise agricultural income. In particular, we wish to aid the family-operated farm through measures to increase its efficiency and its income so that the independent farmer may effectively compete with corporation farming and may remain the dominant producer in American agriculture.

"Surely this great nation must assure to its farmers, who have fed and clothed us through war and depression and flood and drought, a full partnership in the unlimited promise of the United States.

"The AFL-CIO and its affiliated or-

ganizations shall dedicate themselves to building an unshakable bond of mutual understanding and cooperative action between farmers and workers, thereby to advance their common welfare and the well-being of the entire nation."

Political Action

The convention unanimously adopted a resolution on labor's program of political education. Read by Resolutions Committee Co-Secretary Curran, this resolution said:

"This first convention of the world's largest trade union organization affirms the need for a continuing and expanding non-partisan program of political education designed to protect and secure the legitimate economic and political aspirations of America's working men and women.

"We call upon each and all of the affiliated organizations to render the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO all aid and assistance that it may require in the achievement of our purpose.

"The political activities of organized labor should be expanded and the AFL-CIO should provide assistance, direction and coordination to the political education work of state, county and city federations and councils and also provide all possible aid and cooperation to the political education and action activities of the affiliated national and international unions.

"One important phase of our political work should be the development of a program to place the appropriate voting records of our elected officials in the home of each member of our affiliated organizations in order that they may know the actions of these

officials with respect to the issues which affect our national well-being and security.

"Political activity among the wives, sisters and daughters of our membership as well as among the women members of our organizations should be intensified to the end that their vast resources of skill, energy and devotion to the cause of good citizenship may be enlisted on our behalf.

"We reaffirm organized labor's traditional policy of avoiding entangling alliances with any other group and of supporting worthy candidates regardless of their party affiliation. We will cooperate wherever practical and feasible with other groups which have the same ideals and aims as our organization, but we seek neither to capture any organization nor will we submerge our identity to any other group in any other manner.

"To finance the program herein set forth, an annual campaign should be conducted for voluntary contributions from our members, and we call upon each affiliated organization to render every possible cooperation and assistance in this endeavor.

"It is our firm belief that our democratic form of self-government as set forth in the Constitution of the United States is the best that has ever been devised to meet the needs of free men. We pledge to it unselfish and unstinting support and vow that our every effort shall be directed to its preservation."

Education was the next subject to claim the delegates' attention. The convention said:

"The AFL-CIO is committed to the basic principle of affording education opportunities for all persons, regardless of race, creed or status. It

Radio Told the Story to All the World



Through radio, America and the world
heard about the merger of labor.
Being interviewed here is
AFL-CIO Secretary Bill Schnitzler.



Proceedings were recorded by a battery of tape and sound machines.



Willard Morgan (left) gathered
material for his broadcasts
depending many hours daily in
the convention hall. At right, Phil
Randolph, AFL-CIO publicity director.



Voice of America interviewed Philip Randolph and Willard Townsend.



Networks carried important talks.
At right, in usual order, are
Morris S. Novik, radio consultant;
Harry Flannery and Bert Gruen.



As History Was Made in **NEW YORK**



Gotham formally honored George Meany and Walter Reuther. Mayor Wagner, who later welcomed parley, is at the right.



The delegation of the Textile Workers Union of America



Mrs. Franklin D. Roosevelt and Mrs. George Meany. The convention was addressed by the former first lady.



One of the architects of labor unity was President David McDonald of the Steelworkers.

The Iron Workers' delegation was always on the job.



Retail Clerks' President Suffridge (at the left) and Secretary Housewright.



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is, therefore, strongly committed to help assure the fullest possible support for the implementation of the Supreme Court decision in outlawing segregation in the nation's public schools. It, therefore, holds that no federal funds should be granted to any state which takes action in defiance of the decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, provided that funds should be made available to such school districts as conform to the decision.

"Labor recognizes that practical legislative conditions demand that federal aid be provided for specific purposes.

"The five principal specific and basic fields in which federal aid is needed immediately are federal aid for public school construction; for public school teachers' salaries; for loans and scholarships for all worthy students; for health and welfare services for all children regardless of race or creed; and for the eradication of adult illiteracy."

In regard to vocational education, the delegates pointed out that the American trade union movement,

from its inception, has recognized the value of this type of education. Labor has continuously supported the principle, it was noted, "even when it has opposed certain administrative features of the programs."

"The AFL-CIO strongly urges support for a program of vocational education which recognizes the primary responsibility of the trade unions in developing skill and craftsmanship. It urges the development of a program through which a more extensive appreciation of the value of such training can be developed in all elements of society.

"At the same time, the AFL-CIO pledges its continuing support for the program giving financial support in apprenticeship training in direct cooperation with the trade unions in the fields in which the training is given."

The question of academic freedom was considered by the convention, and the delegates approved the fol-

President Meany was gratified at the vast amount of work accomplished by the delegates in four action-packed days.



On a number of occasions, the delegates showed their enthusiastic approval in this emphatic manner.





President Emeritus Herman Winter (left) of the Bakery Workers and Ossip Walinsky, president, Handbag and Luggage Workers.



From left, W. J. Bassett of Los Angeles central body, Arthur Goldberg, labor attorney, and Plumber E. J. Hillock.



From left, W. L. Allen of the Commercial Telegraphers Union, John V. Riffe, and Thomas Pitts of California State Federation.



From left, H. L. Mitchell of the Agricultural Workers, Isidore Nagler of the Ladies' Garment Workers and Lewis Herrmann of Typographical Union and the labor press. Mr. Herrmann retired as International Labor Press secretary.

lowing statement on this subject:

"The AFL-CIO believes that truth must be taught at all school levels in a manner best suited to the age of the children taught. It strongly opposes any form of academic censorship or legislative control of curriculum content. It opposes the use of the schools for propaganda purposes by any group or organization.

"The AFL-CIO believes that the freedom of the teacher as a citizen must be honored at all times. However, the right of the community to protect our schools and our youth from those who would seek to direct or control their thinking leads us to recognize the need of having the community deny employment as a teacher to anyone who is subject to controls, foreign or domestic, which limit his freedom of thought and speech, and which would prevent the teacher from teaching the truth fully in any presentation."

Uncle Sam's Employees

The problems of employees of the federal government came before the convention. The delegates unanimously declared that the government "should assume the role of leader in advocating improvements in employee welfare" and must recognize its responsibility to provide wages, hours and conditions of employment "at least equal to those enjoyed in private industry."

"We support legislation," the convention said, "for statutory recognition of organizations of postal and federal employees, collective bargaining, impartial arbitration of disputes between agencies and union representation on areas and departmental wage boards and AFL-CIO unions representing postal and federal employees."

The delegates pledged continued assistance to the unions of civilian employees of Uncle Sam in their efforts to obtain adequate salary increases. Congress was asked to make higher salaries an early order of business "to the end that justice will no longer be denied these loyal and faithful servants of our nation." Higher pay voted by Congress at the 1955 session was termed "totally inadequate."

The delegates assailed federal administrators who "confuse and befuddle" the American people, Congress and federal workers by dragging "extraneous matters" into dis-

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There were scores of friendly get-togethers after the convention's daily sessions. This group was snapped at a Journeymen Barbers' dinner in the Hotel Statler.



Member of AFL-CIO Letter Carriers who was then on '64,000 Question' television program was congratulated by President Meany.



Stanton Smith (left) and Harry E. O'Reilly discussed the merger and organization problems. The former heads Tennessee Federation of Labor.

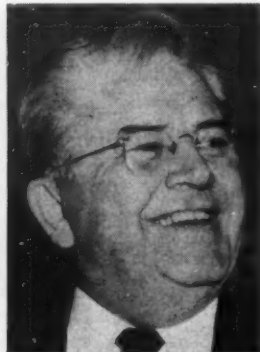
cussions of salary increases for postal and other U.S. employees. Recent actions of federal administrators have been "directly in opposition" to basic requirements of a sound civil service system, the convention declared.

Technological developments during

the last decade, said the delegates, have meant increased individual productivity "without corresponding remuneration to the postal and federal employe."

"Automation has resulted in elimination of many positions and oppor-

tunity for advancement in the postal and federal civilian service," it was pointed out. Postal and federal government administrators were charged with failure to "give proper consideration to human values when the effects of automation eliminate the oppor-



From left to right, President Karl Feller, Brewery Workers; President Reuben Soderstrom, Illinois State Federation; President Thomas A. Murray, New York State Federation of Labor; and Emil Mazey, United Auto Workers' secretary.

tunity for continued employment."

Calling for a 35-hour basic workweek for Uncle Sam's civilian employees, the convention pointed out that shorter hours would "objectively solve, to a degree, the adverse economic impact of present and future automation." The reduced workweek must not be permitted to mean any loss of pay for the federal workers, the delegates emphasized.

Secretary-Treasurer Schnitzler announced the receipt of a large number of communications from a variety of organizations and individuals. One of the messages was from U.S. Senator William Langer of North Dakota. He predicted the merger convention would be widely regarded in future years as "one of the most historic

meetings" in the annals of the nation. Added Senator Langer:

"Common folks in all walks of life should be happy at the thought of a united, fighting force organized to battle in their behalf."

President Meany introduced Eusebio Majal, secretary of the Cuban Confederation of Workers, who took a bow.

As the momentous gathering came within minutes of its conclusion, the Resolutions Committee presented a resolution expressing the convention's thanks to the citizens of New York and to the officers and members of metropolitan area unions for their hospitality. Thanks went also to Governor Averell Harriman, Mayor Robert F. Wagner, the clergy, the

press, radio and television and every one else who had contributed to the success of the AFL-CIO's first constitutional convention. The motion to adopt the resolution was carried unanimously by standing vote.

Closing statements then were made by George Meany, Vice-President Walter Reuther and Vice-President Charles J. MacGowan. [See Pages 47 and 48, January issue.] After the singing of "God Bless America," at 5:20 P.M. the gavel fell for the last time. As the delegates went up the aisles, they knew that they had participated in the writing of important history. They knew that this had been the very greatest of all labor conventions. Each one had had a hand in establishing labor unity.

14-B Should Be Repealed

By PAUL H. DOUGLAS

U.S. Senator from Illinois

IN 1935 the Wagner Act was passed on the justified assumption that collective bargaining should be legalized throughout the nation in industries which were in the flow of interstate commerce or which affected commerce. It was felt that in a national market there should be national rules of the game.

In 1947 the Taft-Hartley Act was put over. It was a vindictive law in itself, but in Section 14-B it provided that if the states were to pass more restrictive legislation concerning union security than Taft-Hartley, then the state laws were to have priority. Where the Taft-Hartley Act was tougher than the state laws, Taft-Hartley was to prevail.

Taft-Hartley outlawed the closed shop, but it provided that labor could legally ask for the union shop if it had previously carried a referendum on this subject. Later, when labor almost universally won these elections, the law was quietly modified so that the union shop could be put into effect by collective bargaining, without any prior referendum. But the so-called "right to work" laws, which started in the South and have been spreading elsewhere, outlaw the union shop as well as the closed shop.

In the eighteen "right to work" states, workmen are denied the security against dilution or whittling

away of a union's strength and bargaining rights. Employers in these states can and do make war on unions behind the shelter of these laws. In the process, they keep wages down and thus are one force causing industry and employment opportunities to migrate to areas where working conditions are the poorest.

This is unhealthy competition which tends to drag down standards of work, pay and security. It is the type of competition which we thought

we were eliminating when we passed the Wagner Act in 1935.

What would employers say if we had an act in which, if Taft-Hartley was more lenient to unions than state laws, Taft-Hartley would prevail, but where the state laws were more lenient than Taft-Hartley, then the state laws would prevail? Can you imagine the shrieks? Any law like that would be unfair, and I believe the present law is unfair. We should repeal Section 14-B of Taft-Hartley.

Why the Taft-Hartley Act Failed

"What was wrong was that the Taft-Hartley Act went too far. It crossed the narrow line separating a law which aims only to regulate from one which could destroy.

"Given a few million unemployed in America, given an Administration in Washington which was not pro-union—and the Taft-Hartley Act conceivably could wreck the labor movement.

"These are the provisions that could do it: (1) picketing can be restrained by injunction; (2) employers can petition for a collective bargaining election; (3) strikers can be held ineligible to vote—while the strike replacements cast the only ballots; and (4) if the outcome of this is a 'no-union' vote, the government must certify and enforce it.

"Any time there is a surplus labor pool from which an employer can hire at least token strike replacements, these four provisions, linked together, presumably can destroy a union."

—*Business Week*, December 18, 1948.

Even Economists Can Be Wrong

By JOHN R. STEVENSON, *Vice-President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners*

WHEN I was a young lad just starting out at the trade, all the top economists agreed that unions were incapable of doing any good for working people. Their theory, at that time, was that one group of working people only advanced its wage standards at the expense of every other group.

They believed that labor could get only a certain fixed amount of the wealth produced and therefore, if the miners got a raise, it came out of the hides of the carpenters and bricklayers and factory workers who had to pay more for their coal. Thus, claimed the economists of that era, organized workers simply beat each other over the head and nobody really gained anything.

I think the history of the past half century has proved this line of reasoning completely wrong. Year in and year out, the miners and the carpenters and the bricklayers and the factory workers have elevated their living standards through their unions, and each group of workers has profited by the advances made by other groups of workers.

All this is merely by way of pointing out that economists can be wrong. And this brings us to the point we wanted to discuss in the first place—namely, the theory held by many of today's economists that unions do not actually raise wage rates even though they appear to do so on the surface.

One of the leading West Coast economists, at a conference, said:

"Unions have raised wage rates, by and large, little above the levels which otherwise would have been reached."

This must have come as startling news to many employer negotiating committees which have resisted unions' demands tooth and nail. Certainly it is a "surprise" to union negotiating committees which have to discuss, argue, wheedle and battle for weeks to get a pay increase.

One of the arguments economists use for advancing their theory that

unions do not elevate wages is that non-union wages stay pretty close to union wages. Non-union wages may or may not stick pretty close to union wages. Frankly, I do not know. I have never been able to get any really reliable statistics on the matter.

My experience has been that the closer a non-union operation is to organized plants, the closer its wage scale adheres to union standards. This has been especially true during the last ten years when men have been relatively scarce. On the other hand, in non-union operations located in areas which are considerably removed from unionized territories, I have known wages to be barely half of what union scales happened to be.

FOR THE sake of argument, let us assume that the economists are right—that non-union wages stick fairly close to union wages. Does that indicate that unions have no influence on wage structures? Hardly. Anyone who has ever done any organizing has run into a situation of this kind many many times: Before the organizer appears at the plant, the wage scale is 40 or 50 cents an hour below the union scale. As soon as the company learns the organizer is working in the territory, wage rates immediately go up 30 or 35 cents an hour. In addition to the raise, the employes get a lecture on what a big, happy family the company is, with no need for a union.

A man would have to be an extremely trusting soul to believe there was no connection between the appearance of the union organizer and the appearance of the wage raise. Admittedly coincidence plays some funny tricks, but when it plays the same trick over and over again, a person is entitled to draw some different conclusions.

In the statistics, however, there is no room for speculating. When employes do not belong to a union, any increases they get are listed as non-union increases.

The same thing holds true in a

plant which has both union and non-union employes. The union negotiates an increase and all the workers in the plant reap the benefit. Technically, one might claim that the non-union employes do as well as the union employes. But the point is that they do so only because there are enough courageous, far-sighted, brotherhood-minded men, capable of making four out of two and two, on the job to establish and maintain a union.

Organized labor has never maintained that its benefits are confined to members only, but it does maintain that the non-union employe rides on the coattails of the union man. The non-union employe gives nothing and he pays nothing, but he enjoys many of the benefits which were brought about by organized labor. He is like the parasite or the leech who rides along for the crumbs that accumulate when the host turns up some food through work and effort.

Trees and fish and animals all have parasites attached to them that stay fat off the leavings. They slow down the host, cut down his effectiveness, and impede his progress, but they keep their bellies fat without contributing anything. Non-union workers are the parasites that feed off the organized workers. What fat they accumulate they accumulate from the efforts and sacrifices of the union men off whom they sponge.

The worker who knows up from down knows that his only chance for economic justice lies in a strong, militant union. He knows that the union man carries the ball in wage matters. He knows that millions of union men have fought and sacrificed and struggled to get wages where they are today.

Let the economist who thinks otherwise sit in on a negotiating session or talk to an employer whose plant a union is trying to organize. If the economist can sell the employers on the idea that unions do not materially elevate wage standards, we will go along with the proposition. Not before, however.

Labor NEWS BRIEFS

►The first constitutional convention of the Canadian Labor Congress will be held in the Coliseum of the Canadian National Exhibition, in Toronto, the week of April 23. The call to the convention, which will give Canada a merged labor movement of 1,000,000 members, has been sent out by the Unity Committee of the Canadian Trades and Labor Congress and the Canadian Congress of Labor.

►For the first time in the company's eighty-nine years, the employees of Winchester Arms are represented by a union. The Machinists won an overwhelming victory, 3,179 to 789, in an NLRB election. The company's hard and expensive campaign against the union included personal calls, letters, family buffets and posters.

►Stanley H. Ruttenberg, AFL-CIO director of research, has been appointed one of four advisers to the U.S. delegation in multi-lateral, tariff negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Twenty-five nations will negotiate with a view to reciprocal tariff concessions.

►Higher pay has been won by Local 118, Bakery Workers, in Washington. The new contract provides an immediate across-the-board increase of 10 cents an hour, an additional 5 cents next May and another nickel in November of 1956.

►J. D. Filson has been elected president of the newly organized Arizona Federation of Teachers. He is a member of Local 1010 in Phoenix. The convention was held in Tucson.

►The Electrical Workers and the management of the Crosley refrigerator plant at Richmond, Ind., have reached an agreement after a long strike. The union has won a 10-cent hourly wage boost and other improvements.

►Maurice Travis, former secretary-treasurer of the Communist-dominated Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers, was found guilty by a Federal Court jury in Denver of falsely signing non-Communist affidavits.

►Overtures toward merger of the three unions in the glass industry have been made by Lee W. Minton, president of the Glass Bottle Blowers. He has invited comment from all concerned. "Our prime consideration," Mr. Minton says, "is that our membership—and all workers in the glass industry—should be brought the full benefits of the AFL-CIO merger as quickly as possible."

►Robert Murphy, president of Local 175, Utility Workers Union of America, has been elected to the presidency of the Montgomery County Industrial Union Council in Dayton, Ohio. Other officers include Winford Blain, vice-president; Conrad Grimes, secretary-treasurer; Charles Melke, sergeant-at-arms, and William Hamm, trustee.

►John M. Brumm, former professor of labor and industrial relations at the University of Illinois, becomes educational director of the International Association of Machinists this month. He succeeds Tom Tippet, director for the past nine years, who has retired, in accordance with the union's constitution, on reaching the age of 65.

►Steps looking toward the merger of the Missouri CIO Council and the Missouri State Federation of Labor have been taken by special merger committees of the two groups. The committees have met and discussed unification procedures in a spirit of harmony and eagerness to move forward together.

►The eighth constitutional convention of the Utility Workers Union of America has been scheduled for Atlantic City next April 5, 6 and 7. The union's founding convention, in 1946, was also held in Atlantic City. Joseph A. Fisher is president of the Utility Workers.

►Employees of the U.S. Potash Company at Carlsbad, N. Mex., have voted in favor of affiliation with the United Stone and Allied Products Workers, AFL-CIO. The losing group was the Carlsbad Potash Basin Union, independent. The tally was 86 to 53.

►Local 3937 of the Steelworkers, in Phoenix, Ariz., has dedicated its new hall in honor of I. W. Abel, international secretary-treasurer of the Steelworkers and a vice-president of the AFL-CIO Industrial Union Department.

►The Painters have reached an agreement with the Washington, D. C., Union Painting Contractors Association. The new contract calls for a 15-cent hourly wage increase now and an additional 10-cent hike next May.

►Local 142, Laundry Workers, has signed a first contract with Suburban Home Cleaners of Riverside, Ill. The agreement calls for higher wages, seniority rights and vacation improvements.

►An agreement covering six states has been signed by the Printing Pressmen and the Pollock Paper Company. The three-year accord provides that commercial and specialty workers will get increases each year.

►A campaign to improve safety standards of Chicago elevators has been started by Local 66, Building Service Employees. The union plans to work with the Building Managers Association.

►Local 443, Chemical Workers, has reached an agreement with Research Corporation, Bound Brook, N. J., calling for a 12½-cent package increase. The accord came after a six-week strike.

►Hourly wage increases, fully automatic wage progression and other major contract improvements have been won by Lodge 1860 of the Machinists at Consolidated Metal Products Corporation, Albany, N.Y.

►Local 252, Textile Workers, has reached an agreement with Mercury-Chipman Knit at Hamilton, Ont., Canada. The contract calls for a job evaluation plan.

►Russell Harvey has been designated as AFL-CIO regional director of organization for Canada. His office is at 159 Bay Street, Toronto, Ont.

Pat Greathouse of Chicago has been named an international vice-president of the United Auto Workers. The vacancy was created by the resignation of John W. Livingston, who left his vice-presidency upon becoming AFL-CIO director of organization. Mr. Greathouse was a charter member of Local 551 and led many organizing drives before joining the Auto Workers' staff as an international representative. He has been director of the union's Region 4.

Local 1470, Retail Clerks, recently held its annual picnic in Davenport, Iowa. It was a most successful affair. Davenport's Mayor Walter Beuse and John DeYoung, president of the Tri-City Federation of Labor, were among those present.

Harry Uviller has been named chairman of the New York State Mediation Board. He will serve until June of 1958. Mr. Uviller has been chairman of the dress industry mediation board in New York City since 1936.

Federal Labor Union 21254 and the Goshen Rubber Company, Goshen, Ind., have negotiated a new agreement providing for a substantial wage increase.

The Jewelry Workers have won a representation election at the Gorham Silver Company, Asheville, N. C. The victory came after a vigorous organizational campaign.

Lodges 1191 and 1215 of the Machinists have made important new gains in a contract with Deere and Company, East Moline, Ill. The pact calls for the union shop.

Local 3, Jewelry Workers, has successfully completed negotiations with firms in Grand Rapids, Mich. The new accord lifts pay rates and improves fringe benefits.

In a new agreement with Safeway Stores, the Meat Cutters in Central and Southwestern Oregon have won the forty-hour week, health and welfare coverage and other gains.

Higher wages have been won by Local 389, Building Service Employees, in negotiations with the Kresge department store in Newark, N. J.

Local 85, Grain Millers, has won higher wages at the International Milling Company, Davenport, Iowa.

Russell J. Taylor, president of the United Shoe Workers, has blasted Wage-Hour Administrator Newell Brown's anti-union bias in amendments to the learners' rate in the shoe industry. Under Brown's ruling, learners will get 80 cents an hour for the first 240 hours and 90 cents for the next 240 hours. His rate determinations were denounced by Mr. Taylor as "sabotage" of the \$1 minimum hourly wage scheduled to become effective March 1.

The National Maritime Union and 170 ship operators have voted to self-insure their welfare fund, which covers 40,000 East Coast seamen, following clearance by State Supreme Court Justice Morris Eder in New York.

The Machinists have added 2,800 new members in a highly successful membership drive at the Marietta Division of Lockheed. The original goal of District 33, Atlanta, was 2,500 new members.

The Boilermakers and Blacksmiths have gained a 15-cent hourly wage increase in seven Western states and Alaska. The new agreement was reached after three weeks of intensive negotiations at San Francisco.

Local 613, Electrical Workers, has a new accord with the Gibson Manufacturing Company in Atlanta. The agreement calls for a substantial wage increase.

Local 144, Office Employees, has won an election among employees of Management Services, Inc., at Oak Ridge, Tenn.

Local 17 of the Technical Engineers has won salary increases for members employed by the Washington State Highway Department.

Union labor will be used in the construction of the \$6,000,000 duPont plant at Tucker, Ga. The project will require a year and a half to complete.

Locals 215 and 219, Cement Workers, have won higher pay at the Canada Cement Company.

Local 477, Plasterers and Cement Masons, has procured higher hourly pay in Charlotte, N. C.

Local 295, Public Employees, has won a wage boost at Cadillac, Mich.

The grief of American labor at the death of Arthur E. Tiffin, general secretary of the British Transport and General Workers Union, was expressed by AFL-CIO President George Meany and Secretary-Treasurer William F. Schnitzler in a cable to Sir Vincent Tewson, general secretary of the British Trades Union Congress. Mr. Tiffin's union, Britain's largest, has 1,300,000 members.

Wage increases and other gains have been won recently by the United Stone and Allied Products Workers in new contracts with companies in Vermont, Ohio, Alabama and Georgia. Local 21, at Barre, Vt., obtained an increase from \$17.50 to \$20 in the weekly sick benefit as well as an hourly wage increase in negotiations with Rock of Ages Capacitors, Inc.

Local 112, Technical Engineers, has obtained a substantial wage boost in a new pact with the Perkins Machine and Gear Company, Springfield, Mass. A five-week strike preceded the settlement.

Local 880, Retail Clerks, Cleveland, has negotiated a two-year accord with the Food Industry Committee. The agreement calls for wage hike of 15 cents an hour this year and a smaller increase next year.

A contract covering workers at the Fruehauf Trailer Company's new plant at Delphos, Ohio, has been negotiated by Local 259, A. F. of L. Auto Workers.

Higher wages for 300 window cleaner members of Local 139, Building Service Employees, Detroit, are specified in an agreement reached with the employers.

Wage increases and fringe benefits have been won by Local 309, Office Employees, in a new pact with Chevrolet-Saginaw Gray Iron Foundry, Saginaw, Mich.

Local 36, Sheet Metal Workers, installed guttering and downspout on the chapel of a boys' camp in Jefferson County, Mo. The work was done by volunteers.

The Bakery and Confectionery Workers have captured an election at Henningsen, Inc., Springfield, Mo.

Local 41, Upholsterers, has won a 7½-cent hourly increase in Chicago.

Public Relations Helps

(Continued from Page 12)

anyone. By presenting the facts, we would do our job and let the farmers decide at election time.

Checking the records of legislators disclosed that nearly all who consistently voted against labor also voted against the general public interest on other matters. Not only were they on the employers side in labor-management legislation; they stood by them on special privilege legislation as well.

This was the answer to our problem. We did not need to complain about the legislator's votes on labor bills at all. We could show the farmers and small businessmen how their legislators voted on bills that affected them as citizens, taxpayers and producers.

Our first effort, in the campaign of 1950, brought *Facts* into thousands of farm homes with information on the official record of their legislators. We reported on the legislators individually by district. We used no tables because they become confusing and irritate the average reader rather than inform him. By concentrating on a legislator and reporting on his official votes only in his own district, we centered the farmer's attention on the man they had voted for in the last election and gave him as complete a picture as space would permit. Besides, the legislator in question would have to answer for his own acts without having any means of comparing his votes with those of his colleagues in the legislature.

As in the Ball campaign, we took the major bills before the previous legislature, described them and reported the legislator's vote. We gave the page of the official journal on which the vote was recorded. We said nothing unkind about the incumbent legislator, nor did we mention the names of any of his opponents. We put it up to the farmers on the basis that they should be the judge of a legislator's right to continue serving.

The effect of the 1950 effort was the election of sixteen new House members friendly to labor and twelve senators. Of course, we were far short of being able to defeat any anti-labor legislation or push through bills that we sought. However, we won

considerable respect throughout the legislature because each of the defeated legislators blamed *Facts* for his defeat.

We made additional gains in the 1952 election, coming within nineteen of having a House majority friendly to labor. In the 1954 election we won that majority in the House, getting just 66 votes. We were not so well rewarded in the Senate, which remained in the control of the old guard opposed to labor.

Winning the House majority meant that there would be no "right to work" bills, although one was furtively introduced. Neither would there be a sales tax or further restrictions on labor organization. We got a much-needed improvement of the workmen's compensation and unemployment insurance laws and modification of some of the labor relations laws now on the books.

We didn't press our luck too far in the 1955 legislature. We felt that a gradual approach, getting a little concession each session, giving much attention to legislation affecting the general public welfare and taxes, would do more to establish ourselves as reasonable citizens, not greedy and grasping as our opponents have tried to depict us.

OF COURSE, we can't see into the future and we can't predict what will happen in the next election. We do know that our efforts over the past six years have created a friendlier feeling for labor in the rural areas. Letters from farmers, some even containing contributions to keep up the work and lists of names for us to add to our mailing list, indicate that trend.

We know, too, that these efforts laid the foundation for the election of a Democratic state administration, although we do not ignore the fact that in strongly Republican Minnesota defections within the Republican party—because of dissatisfaction with the then incumbent governor—played an important part in the change of administration.

All our efforts, however, are not directed at politics. We have placed in many public schools of the state a pocket-size history of the labor

movement in America called "Take a Peek at These Unions," written by our public relations director. It is being used in social science classes in the eighth to twelfth grades. This booklet has gone into hundreds of libraries not only in our own state but throughout the land and even in foreign countries. We have filled requests from places as far away as Sumatra, Honolulu, Paris, London and Oslo.

Among our own organizers we have a pamphlet designed to interest an unorganized wage-earner in American Federation of Labor unionism. It is called "Going Places With the AFL." This also was written by our public relations division.

Many of these pamphlets get into the hands of persons who had never given the labor movement any thought or had regarded it as a fearsome development. Some of these people have let us know they changed their ideas after reading our pamphlets.

Whatever the future brings us in Minnesota, much of it will depend upon our own activities. We cannot afford to sit back now and hope the work we have done will carry us on. The growth of the Farmers Union in Minnesota, due largely to the bungling of price supports by the federal administration, has opened up new avenues for our activities among the farmers. We already have participated in Farmers Union meetings, telling labor's story and making use of facts and figures to show the farmer how closely related are our pocketbooks.

We are looking forward to a good era, the eventual result of which will be the repeal of repressive laws, not through force or heavy-handed political action but through educational efforts to show the farmers that good customers for his products such as we are deserve the red carpet treatment.

C.O.P.E. Needs Your Support DO YOUR PART.

WHAT THEY SAY

Walter Reuther, president, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO—



We have achieved labor unity to provide new, dynamic forces out of which we can build a bigger, stronger labor movement. The organization of millions of unorganized workers is the key to the question of economic justice, of a full measure of the good things of life, for millions of workers who yet are denied the benefits and protection of belonging to a union. There is much work to be done. I have unlimited faith in the ability of our united movement to move forward and to organize the unorganized. But to do that we need to get in motion powerful, dynamic forces that will find expression in the kind of organizational crusade such as this country has never seen. I grew up in a trade union family. My father at 23 years of age was the president of the central labor body in my home town, and he used to tell me stories of the struggles in West Virginia, in the coal mines. Compared to the obstacles they had in those days, there is nothing in our way if we put our minds and our hearts to this task. We need to draw inspiration out of the struggles of the people who came before us, of Sam Gompers and the people in his period, and find a way to give expression to the same kind of spiritual dedication in building in terms of the future.

A. J. Hayes, president, International Association of Machinists—Labor be-



lieves strongly that the consuming public should have a voice in decisions relating to the economic, as distinguished from the purely medical or professional, aspects of any health insurance plan. Labor believes strongly that any universal plan of health insurance must be

carefully coordinated with an over-all plan for developing our health facilities and medical personnel. We are woefully short in medical personnel and in many medical facilities. And labor believes that the need for additional personnel and facilities is too acute to be left to the slow process of gradual evolution. What labor wants in a health insurance plan is a system of universal, comprehensive-service health insurance, with consumer or public representation at the economic policy-making level, carefully tied in with a comprehensive federal program for developing the personnel and facilities to make it work. That is a large order. We of labor know that it will not come overnight.

Herbert H. Lehman, Senator from New York—We must not lose sight



of the distinction between housing and homes, between a collection of buildings and a community. The American home is in danger today of becoming a kind of dormitory, and too many concentrations of houses, apartments and stores are springing up without becoming communities. This is a fairly recent development on the American scene—apartment projects and sprawling areas of suburban houses which, in a real sense, are neither homes nor communities. A home consists, first of all, of a family, with a distinct life, activities and functions of its own. The home must not be reduced to being a mere place of convenience where people gather to sleep and, occasionally, to eat together. The breakdown of the family unit, or even just the weakening of its internal strength, is one of the most powerful factors—the most powerful single factor—in juvenile delinquency. Almost the same things I have said about the family can be said of the community. The community must also have its own activities and functions, its own internal forces of gravity holding it together. A neighbor-

hood without such activities, functions and forces is not a community. It is just an area, without vitality or character, and holds seeds of danger for the young who live there.

W. J. Bassett, secretary, Los Angeles Central Labor Council—When



I first became a member of the Typographical Union in the 1920s, the labor movement was concerned about the introduction of automatic machinery which was rapidly reducing the work force in practically every industry. At that time the Chambers of Commerce and the Manufacturers' Associations argued that the manufacturers of the automatic machinery needed additional employees—that those who were laid off as a result of automation would eventually be hired to build the machines. The truth was that 100 employees could produce sufficient machines to replace thousands of production workers. By no stretch of the imagination could the manufacturers ever absorb those replaced by the machines they produced. It took World War II to overcome the unemployment caused by machines. Today we are again faced with the same problem. Entire factories are now being operated by a handful of employees in place of the hundreds required to do the same work a few years ago.

G. Mennen Williams, Governor of Michigan—Labor cannot carry out its great role in our society with one arm tied behind its back. That is what some people are trying to do today. They are trying to tie one arm of organized labor behind its back. These people say it is all right for men and women to organize and win benefits at the bargaining table, but it's all wrong for them to protect these gains at the polling place. I know that if labor had not tackled its problems with both hands in the past, many of the good things we have today would never have been attained. Collective bargaining alone could never have brought about social security, the wage and hour law, minimum wage legislation, industrial safety and child labor laws.

Operation Acquaintance

BETH GIBSON was certain she had a wonderful idea for the Valentine Party to be given by the Junior Union.

"Let's do something different," she told her chum, Susan McConville. "We have to get away from the same old thing, Susan. You know how parties are getting to be. Same faces, same old games."

As she was speaking, Dick Gibson popped into the kitchen.

"And what's the matter with the old but delightful games, sister?" he inquired mischievously.

"It gets pretty boring, that's what," she replied.

"Well, maybe it does at that," said Dick. "What is your current brainstorm, may I ask?"

"It's an idea, Richard, not a brainstorm," she told him. "St. Valentine was the patron saint of friends and lovers. So this year let's play up the friends angle. There are hundreds of kids in school, and for the most part we've known them forever and will continue to see most of them for the rest of our natural lives."

"So what's your point?" came from Dick.

"Well, we also have about fifteen or twenty kids who are from other countries. They're in America with their parents, and in a year or two I guess they'll be going back to their own homelands. These kids from abroad go to school with us. We see them practically every day. Yet very few of our Junior Union members know them."

"I think I'm beginning to see what you're getting at," said Susan. "I think I'm getting the drift. Sounds good."

"Thanks, pal," Beth said. "Well, why couldn't we assign certain of our members to get acquainted with the foreign students in a normal manner? Then when the Valentine Party invitations are sent out, why couldn't we have them as special guests of the Junior Union? We can get to know each other better and learn more about their countries. What do you think?"

"Wonderful!" said Susan.

"Say. I like it too," said Dick.

"It's a peach of an idea, sis. Incidentally, I know one of the European kids already. Per Hansen is in my English class. He's from Norway. He speaks English very well. He learned it in Oslo."

"In my math class," reported Susan, "there are two very nice South American girls. I think they're pretty lonesome at times."

Now Dick spoke again.

"Who is that boy Hassan who gave the talk in assembly the other day?"

"Oh, that's Ali Hassan," said Susan. "He's from Egypt."

THE next few days were busier than usual for all the Junior Union members. Beth, Susan and Dick had the list of foreign students. Although some of the Junior Union members had to be talked into making overtures of friendliness to the newcomers, "Operation Acquaintance" went along smoothly. By the day of the big party, everyone was in a state of excitement.

Members of the Junior Union volunteered to call for the special guests. Not one of them arrived alone at Union Hall. As the members and guests entered the chamber, red paper hearts bearing their names were pinned on them.

Several days before the party, it had been suggested to some of the guests that it would be especially nice if they would provide a game or dance or tell of some custom typical of their homeland. When the time came, Inez and Ramona Ibarra, the two girls in Susan's math class, demonstrated a Uruguayan dance. The sisters had come from Uruguay only a few months before.

Per Hansen, Dick's Norwegian friend, sang several songs in his native tongue. His voice was strong and clear. Per, a born leader, soon had the rest of the party humming along with him as he repeated the chorus of the songs.

Ali Hassan, the Egyptian boy, showed movies of some of the small villages of Egypt and explained in perfect English that life in those villages was quite different from that in the smaller American towns he had

visited. He also showed pictures of Cairo, his birthplace, and some of his family and friends. Now and then a homesick note crept into the lad's voice.

Franz Gutenvelt and his sister Juliana, from the Netherlands, gaily danced "The Waltz of the Wooden Shoes." They delighted everyone with the *clompity-clomp* of the steps.

Manuel Gonzales, from Mexico, played the guitar and sang some of the lively ranch songs of his country which were familiar to most of the Junior Unionists. Manuel's singing and guitar playing made a tremendous hit.

Then John Chaconas spoke up.

"When we came to America we were very small," he said. "I was not quite two and my brother Gus was an infant. Our father and mother liked this town the first day they came, and they decided to stay. They started the little store and restaurant. They worked hard to earn a living and to learn English. Gus and I learned to speak English instead of our parents' Greek. They brought us up to be good Americans because America had been so good to them. We are always very happy to know we are Americans, even though we happened to have been born in another country. We feel that we have become a real part of this town and of our school and of our Junior Union."

John paused. Then, turning to the Junior Union's special guests, he continued:

"I know that you folks from far-away places will find we are friendly people. Your friends here will not long remember that you have come from distant countries, and you will find that they will soon love you just as they do their own people. And now, because this is Valentine Day, let's all sing a love song to the sweet-heart of us all. Let's all stand and sing together."

And so, in varied accents, the Junior Union's guests and members gave voice to:

*My country, 'tis of thee,
Sweet land of liberty,
Of thee I sing . . .*

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